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ABSTRACT

This collection includes 11 articles on labor conditions in the Soviet Union prepared in the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions since 1969. The articles, most of which appeared in the division's monthly publication, "Labor Developments Abroad" and in the "Monthly Labor Review," include: (1) "The Fifteenth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions," (2) "Economic and Labor Data for 1971," (3) "Trade Union Functions Extended," (4) "The Party Issues a Decision on Socialist Competition," (5) "Public Employment Office Experiment," (6) "Soviet Labor Policies of the 24th Party Congress," (7) "Purchasing Power of Workers in the Soviet Union," (8) "Migration of Labor in the Soviet Union," (9) "The Status of Women in the U.S.S.R.," (10) "New Disciplinary Measures," and (11) "The International Labor Organization, Yesterday and Today." (SB)

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# Labor in the U.S.S.R.

REPORT 414

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics

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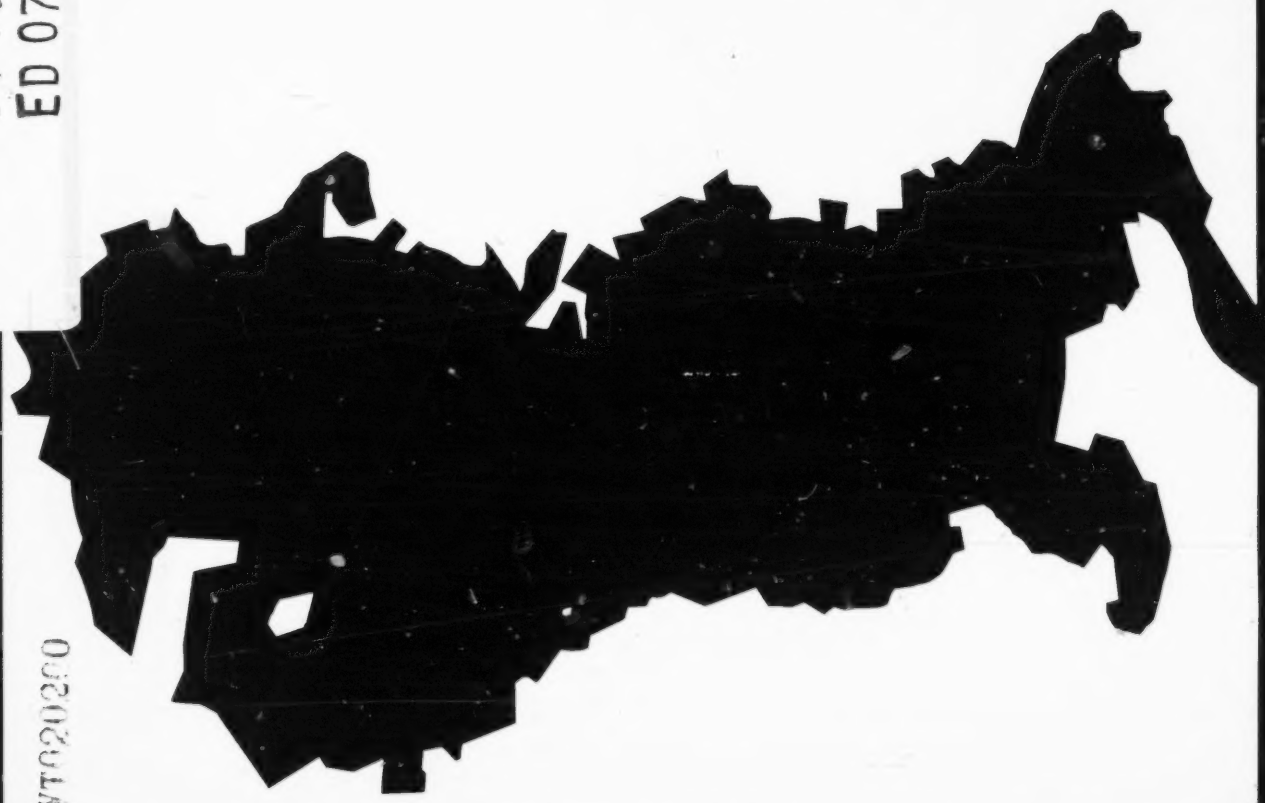

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
James D. Hodgson, Secretary

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
Geoffrey H. Moore, Commissioner

October 1972

# Preface

This collection includes the more important articles on labor conditions in the Soviet Union prepared in the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions (DFLC) since the appearance in July 1969 of the previous collection, Labor in the U.S.S.R. (BLS Report 358). Most of the articles appeared in the Division's monthly publication, Labor Developments Abroad (LDA) and in the Monthly Labor Review (MLR). The first article in this collection, "The Fifteenth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions," is published for the first time because LDA, for which it was scheduled, ceased publication with the January 1972 issue, as one of the first steps in the liquidation of the Division by the end of June 1972. The last article, "The Soviet Attitude to the I.L.O.," was prepared in response to a request from the Bureau of International Labor Affairs in the Department of Labor. All the articles were prepared by Edmund Nash in the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions.

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# The Fifteenth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions

The 15th Congress of the Soviet trade unions convened in Moscow March 20-24, 1972. The Congress was attended by nearly all the 4,925 delegates elected by the country's 25 trade unions which are organized by industry and have over 98 million members. The previous congress was held 4 years ago in February-March 1968; 1/ but future congresses, as provided by an amendment to the trade union constitution adopted by the 15th Congress, are to be held at 5-year intervals, to correspond with the 5-year economic plan periods.

Taking part in the Congress as observers, in response to invitations, were delegations or individuals representing 137 trade union organizations in 103 countries and nine international organizations, including the International Labor Organization, the All-African Trade Union Federation, the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, the Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Workers in Latin America, and the World Federation of Trade Unions (which the Soviet trade unions helped to establish and of which they are the largest affiliate).

The Congress of Trade Unions is the supreme authority on trade union matters. Between congresses, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) implements the policies adopted by the last congress, exercises control over all trade union organizations and activities, and collaborates with the Government on matters concerning labor.

## Nature of Soviet trade unions

As at previous congresses, the speeches and reports of Communist Party and trade union leaders at the 15th Congress indicated that Soviet trade unions are assigned clearly defined functions to further not only workers' welfare but also the ideological and economic aims of the State. During recent years, these functions have been increased by the Government, especially under the economic reform of 1966-68, 2/ and by the decree of September 27, 1971, which extended the functions of the executive committee of a trade union local. 3/

The basic rights and functions of Soviet trade unions are defined in chapter XII of the July 15, 1970 law on the "fundamental principles governing the labor legislation of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republics." 4/ In short, the law states that the right of workers "to associate to form trade unions is guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.": that trade unions elect their officers, who are protected against arbitrary action by the management; that unions have the right to submit draft labor laws, and that the unions have the right to participate in the preparation of State economic development plans and in the management of production. Annual collective agreements are concluded by trade union locals and management spelling out their obligations (the latest available data indicate that fewer than 20 percent of the locals meet the legal requirements for concluding collective agreements). The law also states that trade unions have the responsibility for checking on (1) the implementation of labor legislation and industrial safety regulations, and (2) the adequacy of housing and other services provided to workers. The trade unions administer the State social security system.

Despite these legal provisions, Soviet trade unions are not free and independent unions in the western sense. No independent trade union local may be formed outside the existing hierarchical trade union system. No trade union may declare a strike. The trade unions do not bargain with management for higher wages, longer vacations, or shorter hours of work because these are fixed by law; trade unions merely check on the proper application of the laws dealing

with these matters. However, because trade union membership brings special benefits, only in unusual circumstances do workers fail to become members. For example, a trade union member is entitled to higher social insurance pensions and has preference in receiving passes to health resorts and sanatoriums. His children have priority in being accepted in nurseries and summer camps. Union dues range from about 0.7 to 1.0 percent of earnings; the higher rate applies to earnings above 70 rubles (US$84) a month. Every wage and salary earner in an enterprise, including the manager, is eligible for union membership.

## Trade union statistics

Since the average number of wage and salary earners in 1971 was 92.7 million 5/ and the announced trade union membership is "over 98 million," it would appear that collective farmers and students account for much more than the 5.3 million difference, since not all wage and salary earners are union members (just 96.3 percent were members on July 1, 1967).6/ Every collective farm now has a trade union local, comprising mechanics and agricultural specialists; "about 3 million" collective farmers are union members. 7/ (The annual average number of collective farmers in 1971 was 16.5 million.)

Directly under the control of the AUCCTU are the 25 central committees of the 25 Soviet trade unions. There are about 2,000 regional union committees, 19,000 city union committees, and 646,000 union locals (each local has 15 members or more). Where fewer than 15 union members are in an establishment (or any subdivision thereof), a "group" may be organized under a shop steward ("group organizer"); there were over 1,800,000 "groups" in 1968. Most of the trade union activity is now carried on by nearly 36 million volunteer workers. 8/

The credentials committee of the 15th Congress reported concerning the 4,925 delegates that 61.9 percent were Communist Party members or candidates for membership (Party members constitute only about 15 percent of the union membership), 57.9 percent had been elected for the first time, 50.3 percent were manual workers, 40.2 percent were women, 3,012 had been rewarded with medals and other decorations, 2,402 had been awarded the title, "Shockworker of Communist Labor," 700 represented agricultural workers, 184 represented scientific workers, 113 were managers of enterprises, and 32 were chairmen of collective farms. 9/

## Trade union historical background

The trade union movement, which barely survived under the tsars, first received legal recognition in Russia during the Revolution of 1905, when the tsarist government was engaged in a losing war with Japan. By 1907, trade union membership grew to 245,334, but government repression had begun, so that membership declined to 35,000 in 1910 and to about 5,000 on January 1, 1916. After the overthrow of the tsarist government on February 28, 1917, membership rocketed to 1.5 million by July 1917, and when the first all-Russian Trade Union Congress met in January 1918, nearly 3 months after the Communist (Bolshevik) seizure of power, there were 2.6 million members. 10/ At this Congress, the Bolsheviks controlled the majority of the delegates and gained permanent control of the union movement. Some freedom of debate and action persisted in the unions but vanished in about a year after the introduction in 1928 of the first of the 5-year plans.

## Basic purpose of the Congress

Speeches of Party and trade union leaders made it clear that the main purpose of the 15th Congress, as of

previous congresses, was to stimulate the trade unions to activate workers to maximize and improve production. Specifically, the delegates were exhorted by Party and union leaders to do all in their power to implement the economic growth and labor policies adopted by the 24th Communist Party Congress (March 30 to April 9, 1971). 11/ The primary task of the trade union organizations, it was emphasized at the 15th Congress, is to promote the further development of the national economy through the successful fulfillment of the ninth 5-year Economic Plan (1971-75). In its resolutions, this Congress also called for the continuous improvement of (a) working and living conditions and (b) the services and administrative functions of trade union bodies.

Proceedings of the Congress

Alexander Shelepin, chairman of the AUCCTU, opened the Congress by welcoming (1) the top Party and Government leaders (who upon arrival were applauded and unanimously designated delegates of the 15th Congress), (2) the delegates, and (3) the foreign observers. The Congress then unanimously elected its various committees and commissions (including an honorary presidium [executive committee] of the Congress, made up exclusively of members of the Politburo [political bureau] of the Communist Party), and approved the following order of main business:

1. Consideration of AUCCTU's report of its activities since the 1968 Congress.
2. Consideration of the report of the Central Auditing Commission.
3. Election of the AUCCTU and the Central Auditing Commission.

Brezhnev speech. Before the main business was taken up, Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, delivered a speech in which he stressed the point that the 24th Party Congress last year had approved "a broad program for the further development of industry and agriculture, for raising the material standards of living of the people, and for educating the working people according to Communist principles." He called upon workers and management to increase by all means their efforts to fulfill the economic plans decided upon by the Party and the Government. In this connection, he said it would be necessary to have stricter enforcement of labor discipline, wider use of material and moral incentives to increase production, greater promotion by unions of socialist competition in production among workers and groups of workers, and faster introduction of new technology into the production process. He said that the Party places high demands on the Communists elected to trade union posts and expects them to perform their trade union functions energetically. He repeated the traditional Party line stressed at the 24th Congress that the Party will continue to increase trade union responsibilities and see to it that the trade unions worthily perform their role as "schools of government, schools of management, and schools of communism." He announced that the Order of Lenin, the highest in the U.S.S.R., had been conferred on the trade unions in recognition of their "great services" in "the successful fulfilment" of the eighth 5-year plan [1966-70] for the development of the national economy. The second half of his speech was devoted to Soviet foreign policy.

The message sent to the Congress by the Central Committee of the Communist Party covered about the same ground as Brezhnev, but briefly: primarily it exhorted trade unions to increase their political ideological activity and to improve their work in promoting production and working and living conditions.

The AUCCTU report. Before beginning his report 12/ on the major results of the 4 years of activity of the AUCCTU and on trade union policies for the future, Chairman Shelepin thanked

Brezhnev for his speech and promised that in response to the party's concern and attention, and the award of the Order of Lenin, the trade unions "will work still better, increasing their energy with every passing day in the struggle to realize the magnificent plans for building a Communist society outlined by the 24th Party Congress." He spoke of the Soviet trade unions as acting "under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee."

In reviewing the major improvements in working and living conditions of the Soviet people during the past 4 years, Shelepin admitted that much more needed to be done by the trade unions. His recommendations and related statements constituted most of the AUCCTU report and, since they were confirmed in a subsequent resolution of the Congress, are summarized in the following section.

Current trade union policies. Shelepin began his discussion of current trade union policies with broad statements echoing the party line: "The attention of the Party, the Soviet State, and the trade unions is centered on concern for the Soviet man. At all stages in the great construction of a Communist society everything possible has been done to improve the life of the Soviet people." He said that this was confirmed by the 24th Party Congress when it set as the main task of the ninth 5-year plan [1971-75] "to secure a considerable rise in the material and cultural level of living on the basis of high development rates in socialist production, increased efficiency of production, scientific and technical progress, and accelerated growth in labor productivity." He reviewed the provisions in the ninth 5-year plan to increase the real income of Soviet workers, pensioners, and others. 13/

The bulk of Shelepin's report described what should be done by the trade unions to promote greater and more efficient production or operation in all branches of the national economy. He indicated three major goals: (1) the promotion of the full use of economic reserves (labor, materials, and equipment), of acquired production and operational experience, and of new scientific and technological advances; (2) the inculcation in workers of the "Communist attitude toward work," so as to increase labor productivity and to fulfill production plans; and (3) the improvement of the trade union functional organization (including the selection and training of personnel), so as to enable union locals to be more effective in their ideological, educational, safety, and production-promoting activities (among the last-mentioned he included the supervision of socialist competition among workers and the holding of workers' production conferences in individual establishments).

In the field of workers' welfare, Shelepin called upon union locals to check on the implementation of work safety regulations, and on the availability and quality of consumer services.

In stressing the ideological-educational tasks of the trade unions, Shelepin said that "the party has delegated an important role to the trade unions in resolving the historic task of shaping the new man." In line with the decisions of the 24th Party Congress, the trade unions "are called upon to render all-round and active assistance to the Communist Party in shaping a communist world outlook in the broadest working masses." The trade unions are also called upon "to continue to educate the trade union aktiv (unpaid volunteer workers) in a spirit of high responsibility for the implementation of party and government directives and the decisions of trade union organs." He said it was necessary for trade unions to check more diligently on the enforcement of labor discipline in cases involving drunkenness, loafing on the job, and theft of government property, and to concern themselves more with the organization of cultural and physical

activities for workers in their leisure time.

As at the previous congress, Shelepin called for the strengthening of the unity of the working class throughout the world, especially through the World Federation of Trade Unions (which, he said, had increased its membership to 154 million in 1971, compared with the approximately 50 million membership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), and echoed the party's attack on the "aggressive policy of imperialism," especially in the areas around Vietnam and Israel. He said that ideological differences were not an obstacle to the cooperation of national trade unions or of international federations of trade unions in improving the welfare of workers, and called for the convening of an All-Europe conference of national trade unions regardless of their ideologies, to consider major questions such as military aggression, hunger, environmental pollution, the consequences to workers of the scientific-technical revolution, and the ways to achieve social progress and lasting peace. He said the Soviet trade unions were maintaining contact with trade union organizations in 166 countries, including many which were members of the ICFTU and the World Federation of Labor.

The Congress responded to the report on the AUCCTU activities by passing a resolution which covered almost two full pages in Trud. The resolution confirmed chairman's report and his recommended policies concerning trade union activities in the future at home and abroad. It praised the Communist Party's concern to improve the welfare of the people and asked the AUCCTU to help the Communist Party in promoting Communist ideology among the workers by means of the trade union press and the various other trade union cultural facilities. The resolution stated that the trade unions "will more closely rally their ranks around the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and will continue to be loyal and closest helpers of the party in the great work of building communism in our country."

The Auditing Commission Report. 14/ The Central Auditing Commission checks on the expenditure of trade union funds, including state social insurance funds, and on the fiscal management of a wide network of trade union cultural institutions, sport facilities, sanatoriums, and other organized activities. Its report claimed that trade union organized activities reached a new high level in the 4-year period after the previous congress, as indicated by a more than 40-percent increase in trade union budget expenditures. Two-thirds of these expenditures are covered by union dues, and the remaining third by income derived from trade union activities, including the showing of motion pictures and sales of trade union publications. The trade union budget on the national level has to be approved by a plenary meeting of the AUCCTU; budgets of trade union committees (or councils) on the republics and regional level are approved by these committees (or councils).

The report stated that in the past 4 years over 5 billion rubles (US$6 billion) had been expended by trade unions for cultural and recreational activities, but that some union committees and councils had failed to spend the funds allotted to them for these activities.

State social insurance expenditures had increased 46.7 percent during the past 4 years, the commission reported, and had amounted to 64.7 billion rubles (about US$78 billion). The commission charged, as did the previous commission 4 years ago, that chairmen of factory trade union committee frequently violated the rules governing the distribution of passes to rest homes and sanatoriums by bypassing the union local's social insurance commission and arbitrarily assigning such passes.

As a consequence of the Communist Party's September 1967 decision calling

for more attention to workers' letters of complaint, requests, or suggestions, the AUCCTU received in the past 4 years 202,000 letters and communications (compared with 277,000 in the 6 months preceding the 14th Congress in 1968). AUCCTU representatives were sent to work places to check on the most serious of these complaints. An analysis of all the complaints received indicated the need to improve the availability of legal advice to workers, especially through the trade union locals.

The Commission reported that it was necessary to continue the improvement of the work of auditing commissions checking on the financial activities of trade union bodies. These commissions have about 2 million elected members working without pay.

Election of officers. The Congress unanimously elected a 369-member All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and a 63-member Central Auditing Commission. The AUCCTU, at its first plenary meeting on March 24, elected a 33-member presidium; Shelepin, who has held this office since July 11, 1967, was reelected chairman.

Constitutional amendments. 15/ Of the amendments, grouped in 10 paragraphs, made to the Constitution of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., the more important ones included or provided for the following, in summary:

1. "The U.S.S.R. trade unions direct their work to the uninterrupted increase in the effectiveness of social production . . ." They strive to improve living and working conditions. They establish and maintain contacts with trade unions in other countries, regardless of the social, ethnic, political, or religious character of these unions.

2. The AUCCTU in addition to its right to initiate labor legislation may issue instructions clarifying existing labor law; it also supervises the social security system involving collective farmers.

3. Trade union councils may be created in cities or municipal districts to coordinate and guide the work of locals belonging to different unions, and to give legal assistance to union members.

4. A summary statement on the extended functions of the executive committee of a trade union local was added to the constitution. 16/

5. The national trade union congress will be held once every 5 years.

Other actions. The Congress approved a message expressing gratitude and loyalty to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and promising to improve the work of the trade unions in the task of encouraging all workers to greater production and dedicated support of Communist Party policies. It also sent a message to the World Federation of Trade Unions, wishing the latter continued growth and success. The Congress approved statements condemning (1) the use of armed forces and the detention of "political prisoners" in Northern Ireland, and (2) "the aggressive policy of the ruling circles in Israel against the peoples of Arab states with the direct support of USA imperialism and the international forces of Zionism." It also adopted a unanimous resolution calling for an end of "the American war of aggression" in Indochina.

Disciplined unanimity. The proceedings at the congress appear to have gone smoothly. All Congress actions were approved unanimously. The AUCCTU report was discussed for 4 days by 43 speakers (each was allowed 15 minutes). Most of the speakers discussed the success of their enterprises in fulfilling production plans, and the work of their trade unions in improving living and working conditions. The monotony of the Congress appears to have been relieved somewhat by the appearance on the third day of a group of young voca-

tional students representing the Moscow trade schools, and on the fourth day, of a group of pioneers (boy and girl scouts). Each group greeted the Congress with the recitation of a long poem (that of the pioneers had about 200 lines, and that of the trade school students, about 150 lines).

1/ For discussion, see "The Fourteenth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions," in Labor in the U.S.S.R. (BLS Report 358, 1969, pp. 16-22).

2/ For discussion, see "The Economic Reform and its Labor Aspects in the U.S.S.R.," in Labor Developments in the U.S.S.R. (BLS Report 311, 1966, pp. 1-9).

3/ For discussion, see "U.S.S.R. Trade Union Functions Extended," in BLS monthly, Labor Developments Abroad, January 1972, pp. 5-7.

4/ The text appears in "Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR" [Register of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.], July 22, 1970, No. 29, Text 265. A translation in English appears in Moscow News, Supplement to Issue No. 31, 1970, and in the International Labour Office's Legislative Series, 1970--USSR1.

5/ Pravda, Communist Party daily, Jan. 23, 1972, p. 2.

6/ Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta [Economic Gazette], Moscow weekly, No. 10, March 1968, p. 5.

7/ Trud [Labor], Soviet trade union daily, March 21, 1972, p. 7.

8/ Sovetskie Profsoyuzy (Soviet Trade Unions, a semimonthly), No. 5, March 1972, p. 6.

9/ Trud, March 22, 1972, p. 2.

10/ O. Rozenfeld, Istoria professionalnogo dvizheniya v Rossii [The History of the Trade Union Movement in Russia], Moscow, 1924, pp. 41-43 and 67.

11/ For discussion, see "Soviet Labor Policies of the 24th Party Congress," in Labor Developments Abroad, September 1971, pp. 6-12.

12/ The complete report is given in Trud, March 21, 1972, pp. 4-8.

13/ For discussion, see Soviet Labor Policies in the 24th Party Congress, in Labor Developments Abroad, September 1971, pp. 6-12.

14/ A shortened version of this report is printed in Trud, March 21, 1972, p. 8.

15/ The complete text of the decision on amendments to the trade union constitution appears in Trud, March 25, 1972, p. 4. For the basic provisions of the constitution, see Principal Current Soviet Labor Legislation (BLS Report 210, 1962, pp. 112-119); also subsequent amendments (BLS Report 358, 1969, p. 22).

16/ For discussion, see "U.S.S.R. Trade Union Functions Extended," in BLS monthly, Labor Developments Abroad, January 1972, pp. 5-7.

# U.S.S.R. Economic and Labor Data for 1971

The 1971 economic report of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics claims that the country achieved all its main goals for economic production and social welfare as set forth in the state plan for 1971. The report acknowledges, however, that production of some consumer goods--washing machines, television sets, sugar, fish, and cheese--fell below the 1970 levels.

The percent increase over 1970 in selected economic and social indicators is shown in the following tabulation:

| | Percent increase, 1970-71 |
|---|---|
| National income, used for consumption and accumulation | 6.0 |
| Industrial output | 7.8 |
| Capital goods | 7.7 |
| Consumer goods | 7.9 |
| Agricultural output | .0 |
| Labor productivity in industry | 6.3 |
| Number of wage and salary earners | 2.8 |
| Average monthly earnings of wage and salary earners | 3.3 |
| Per capita real income | 4.5 |
| Retail trade turnover | 7.0 |
| Consumer services | 12.0 |
| Children enrolled in preschool establishments | 2.4 |
| Students enrolled in secondary specialized schools | .8 |
| College level students | .4 |

The 6-percent increase in national income--defined by Soviet economists as the net value of goods and productive services, including turnover tax--was smaller than the 8.5-percent increase in 1970. The report stated that more than four-fifths of the increase in national income was accounted for by an increase in labor productivity. For the fourth year in succession the annual rate of growth in output of consumer goods exceeded that of capital goods, as planned. Data on the volume of production of selected consumer and capital goods are given in table 1.

There appears to have been a decline in per capita food production; no increase in agricultural output was reported although population increased by 2.4 million. In agriculture, adverse weather conditions were blamed for the shortfalls in production in various areas.

The average number of wage and salary earners in 1971 was 92.7 million, up 2.5 million over 1970. At the end of 1971, there were over 970,000 scientific workers (among whom are counted workers in the social sciences, arts, and letters). Monthly cash earnings of all wage and salary earners averaged 126 rubles (US$152), 3.3 percent higher than in 1970 and above the planned increase of 2.8 percent. According to the report, government expenditures for free consumer services and other benefits raised average monthly income to 170 rubles (US$205). Per capita real income rose 4.5 percent during 1970-71, less than the 5.2-percent rise in 1969-70. Personal savings in banks continued to grow, increasing in 1971 by 6.6 billion (US$8 billion) to a total of about 53 billion rubles (US$64 billion). At the end of 1970, there were 80 million personal savings accounts, compared with 73 million in 1969; the economic report gave no figure for 1971. The increased savings could indicate the continued inability of many Soviet citizens to purchase desired durable goods, such as refrigerators and automobiles.

While the retail sales of state and cooperative outlets increased (in comparable prices) 7.0 percent over 1970, the demand for many consumer goods was not satisfied. Although the volume of consumer services increased 12 percent

Table 1. Production of selected commodities in the Soviet Union, 1971

| Commodity | Production, 1971 | Percent change | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1970-71 | 1969-70 |
| Steel | 121 million metric tons | 4 | 5 |
| Coal | 641 million metric tons | 3 | 3 |
| Crude oil | 372 million metric tons | 7 | 7 |
| Electric power | 800 billion kilowatt tons | 3 | 7 |
| Cement | 100.3 million metric tons | 5 | 6 |
| Paper | 4.4 million metric tons | 5 | 3 |
| Trucks, buses, and passenger cars | 1,142.7 thousand | 25 | 8 |
| Passenger cars | 529.0 thousand | 54 | 17 |
| Tractors | 472 thousand | 3 | 4 |
| Cotton fabrics | 6,397 million square meters | 4 | -0.9 |
| Woolen fabrics | 675 million square meters | 5 | 4 |
| Leather footwear | 679 million pairs | 0.5 | 6 |
| Clocks and watches | 42.1 million | 5 | 6 |
| Radios and radio-phonographs | 8.8 million | 13 | 8 |
| Television sets | 5.8 million | -13 | 1 |
| Household refrigerators | 4.6 million | 10 | 12 |
| Household washing machines | 4.1 million | -23 | 2 |
| Motorcycles and scooters | 872 thousand | 5 | 2 |
| Meat | 13.1 million metric tons | 7 | 5 |
| Granulated sugar | 9.0 million metric tons | -12 | -1 |
| Canned foods | 11.3 billion cans | 5 | 10 |

Source: Pravda, January 23, 1972, p. 1.

in monetary terms, available services continued to be inadequate, especially in rural areas. The report stated that plans to put new consumer service shops into operation were not fulfilled in many cities and districts throughout the country.

About the same number of new apartments and single-family homes were built in 1971 as in 1970 (2,300,000 compared with 2,280,000). As a result of this and the improvement of old housing, the report stated, some 3 million families, or 11.2 million persons, experienced better housing conditions.

About 1.8 million students, or 6 percent more than in 1970, graduated as professionals and technicians from college-level and secondary specialized schools (about 39 percent of them graduated from college-level schools). In addition, the secondary vocational technical schools added 1.7 million trained workers to the labor force. During 1971, about 19 million persons increased their skills while on the job.

In industry and construction, many enterprises fell short of their goals for increased production; many also failed to reduce production costs, to improve quality, and to offer an adequate assortment of products. In transportation, the problem of idle freight cars continued because enterprises were slow in loading and unloading them.

As in previous years, the press has continued its perennial campaign against production shortcomings by exhorting managements of enterprises strictly to enforce labor discipline, to use manpower and materials economically, and to imtroduce into their enterprises the latest scientific and technological developments.

**U.S.S.R.** Trade Union Functions Extended.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. decreed a revised and enlarged statute on the "rights" (functions) of the executive committee of a trade union local on September 27, 1971. 1/ The new statute, "Statute of Rights of the Factory, Plant, and Local Trade Union Committee," replaces the 1958 statute which, in turn, revised the 1925 statute. 2/ Details concerning the implementation of the statute are to be worked out by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and approved by "the appropriate (Government) ministries and departments."

According to the Soviet trade union daily Trud ("Labor," September 30, 1971), the executive committees of trade union locals constitute the foundation of all Soviet trade unions, and the success of trade unions in the fulfillment of tasks assigned to them by the party depends on the effective functioning of these committees. An executive committee is elected by secret ballot at a general meeting; the membership of the committee depends on the number of union members in the enterprise. For fewer than 15 union members, the local elects a steward ("union organizer") for a 1-year term to perform basic trade union functions. 3/ Committees have the right to present to economic and governmental bodies proposals on ways to improve production and working and living conditions; these bodies, moreover, must report to the committees concerning the proposals.

General characteristics of the 1971 statute. The new statute reflects primarily the changes in the activity of enterprises and trade union executive committees which have developed during the 8th economic plan period (1966-70), when a new system of planning and of incentives was introduced. Under the new system, enterprises exercise increased authority in making independent decisions on production, and trade union locals are authorized to participate to a greater degree in the preparation and execution of plans relating to production, higher labor productivity, and the improvement of working and living conditions. 4/ In spelling out specific functions of trade union executive committees, the new statute emphasizes the increased responsibility of local union leaders and members in realizing the day-to-day effectiveness of these functions.

The functions of the executive committee have been reorganized and expanded, so that the 17 clauses of the 1958 statute are replaced by 31 more precise clauses. Although the Soviet labor press did not spell out changes in the revised statute, a comparison of the statutes indicates the following new functions of the local union executive committee, mostly in collaboration with management: (1) the distribution of funds derived from enterprise profits for workers' bonuses and for construction projects involving housing and cultural-recreation facilities; (2) examination and approval of any major production reorganization plan involving the transfer of personnel; (3) approval in advance of safety and sanitary conditions in a new enterprise workshop; (4) supervision of working and living conditions of young workers; and (5) sponsorship of a drive to instill among workers a communist attitude toward work. (According to Pravda, September 30, 1971, a worker who has such an attitude will "feel responsible for the fulfillment of [production] plans and obligations, and will be intolerant of economic waste and violations of discipline.")

Summary of provisions of 1971 statute. The statute, as revised, empowers the executive committee in representing the workers of an enterprise to make and enforce a collective agreement with management on matters relating to (1) production, (2) working conditions, and (3) services to workers. Committee members and workers at the enterprise are protected from arbitrary transfer or dis-

missal; full-time committee members have job reinstatement rights.

(1) Promotion of production. The executive committee is expected to induce workers to participate in the management of production by suggesting various ways to increase efficiency in general meetings, production meetings, and economic conferences. The committee is to collaborate with management in preparing programs, including plans for the introduction of new production techniques and capital facilities.

The committee must collaborate with management in the promotion of higher labor productivity, especially by sponsoring socialist competition among workers and groups of workers. 5/ Workers are encouraged to maximize their production, to invent and innovate, to reduce absenteeism, and to economize in the consumption of materials. The committee must cooperate with management in setting up rules for the distribution of bonuses and other rewards to highly productive workers and in the allocation of special enterprise funds for workers' housing and other social and cultural purposes.

(2) Working conditions. Nearly all management documents and regulations relating to working conditions must be approved by the enterprise's union committee. These documents include lists of (1) job classifications, (2) wage scales (both for time and piecework), (3) production quotas for workers (with lower quotas for younger workers, 15 to 17 years of age), (4) hazardous and arduous jobs with a shorter workday, (5) jobs entitling workers to free work clothing, and (6) jobs entitling workers to specified quantities of free milk or other foods.

With the committee's approval, management allocates the enterprise's labor force according to the established schedule of work shifts, and determines the schedules of workers' annual vacations. When practicable, workers may perform two jobs simultaneously. Overtime and work on the worker's weekly days off may be authorized by the committee in exceptional cases. The committee is required to check on the application of (1) safety and sanitary regulations, especially in new production units, and (2) health laws designed to protect women and young workers.

(3) Services to workers. The statute imposes upon the enterprise's union committee responsibility for the provision and expansion of various services to workers, including housing, dining rooms, child-care, culture, recreation, and medical attention. The committee checks on the proper expenditure by management of funds for equipment, maintenance, and operation of educational, recreational, and other service facilities of the enterprise. The committee supervises the operation of dining rooms in the enterprise, and determines the prices of meals and hours of operation. Jointly with management, the committee prepares a priority list of workers eligible for new housing.

The committee administers social security and determines the amount of each pension and allowance, issues passes to rest homes and sanitariums, sends workers' children to summer camps, and checks on medical services available.

The committee has the right to request progress reports on consumer services and production programs in the collective agreement. When management fails to fulfill its obligations, the committee may demand the dismissal of the executives at fault. Management must consult with the committee in the appointment of new executives.

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1/ For the full text of the statute, see Trud ("Labor," the Soviet trade union daily), September 29, 1971, p. 2. An English translation is given in Moscow News, Supplement to issue No. 42, October 23-30, 1971.

2/ For a comparison of the 1925 and 1958 statutes, see "Extension of Trade Union Functions in the Soviet Union," Labor Developments Abroad, December 1958, pp. 1-3.

3/ For a discussion of Soviet trade unions, see "The Fourteenth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions," in Labor in the U.S.S.R. (BLS Report 358, 1969), pp. 16-22; also for duties of the union steward, see Principal Current Soviet Labor Legislation (BLS Report 210, 1962), p. 119.

4/ For a discussion of the new system, see "The Economic Reform and its Labor Aspects in the U.S.S.R.," in Labor Developments in the U.S.S.R. (BLS Report 311, 1966), pp. 1-9.

5/ For a discussion of socialist competition, see "U.S.S.R. New Party Decision on Socialist Competition," Labor Developments Abroad, November-December 1971, pp. 2-4.

**U.S.S.R.** The Party Issues a Decision on Socialist Competition.

On September 5, 1971, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published its decision, "On the Further Improvement of the Organization of Socialist Competition." 1/ The Committee declared that achievement of this goal is most important for implementing the country's economic and sociopolitical development. This program was approved earlier in 1971 by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party. 2/

Under socialist competition, workers or groups of workers compete to increase the volume, improve the quality, and lower the costs of production. At present, about 74 million of the country's 93 million wage and salary earners participate. Such competition is encouraged by material rewards and moral awards such as honorary titles and newspaper publicity.

Competition has been part of the Soviet economic system from its early years. On September 8, 1971, Pravda cited V. I. Lenin (1870-1924), whom it called the leader of the 1917 socialist revolution, as declaring the promotion of socialist competition to be a main task of the Communist Party and of the Soviet regime. The party now describes socialist competition as a mass patriotic movement, guided by the "Leninist principles of its organization--publicity, comparability of results, and the possibility of duplicating the experience." Pravda calls socialist competition a tested means of educating workers in the Communist way, that is, of "forming such traits of the Soviet man as high awareness, deep understanding of the problems involved in the building of a Communist society, and a sense of personal responsibility for bringing communism into being." 3/

In its September 1971 decision, the Central Committee increased demands on party, city council, trade union, and Komsomol (Communist youth) organizations, as well as on management. To bring about an upsurge of initiative and creative activity by rank-and-file workers in socialist competition, from the operation of which "elements of formalism and bureaucratic distortion" must be eliminated. Certain shortcomings need to be remedied: Many party and trade union bodies have not paid sufficient attention to socialist competition in light of technological progress; "a number" of enterprises in industry, construction, and transportation have given only "weak" encouragement to competition to discover and use hidden reserves; and "serious shortcomings" have occurred in the payment of incentive rewards and in the dissemination of new experience gained in competition.

The new party decision presented an 8-point program to improve socialist competition:

(1) The working people of the U.S.S.R. must be mobilized to increase production, improve the quality of products, and lower costs. In industry, new technology and more efficient methods of production must be introduced faster. In agriculture, steps must be taken to improve the soil scientifically, and to make better use of farm manpower and equipment. Consumer services must be concentrated administratively in a separate economic sector and increased in volume and quality.

(2) The workers themselves must develop socialist competition on a democratic basis according to Leninist principles. Workers must be encouraged by material, and especially moral, incentives. They must be instilled "with the spirit of the communist attitude toward work and public property." (The communist attitude is exemplified by the worker who strives to overfulfill his production quota, respects factory property, and observes labor discipline.) Every worker must be taught to love his collective (group of workers), to help his fellow workers, and to have a feeling of professional pride and a responsibility for the good name of his factory trademark.

(3) Communist Party bodies at all

geographical levels, the councils of ministers of the 15 republics of the U.S.S.R., the ministries and departments, the trade union bodies, and the central committee of Komsomol are instructed to eliminate shortcomings in socialist competition and to promote the various existing forms of competition. Individuals and groups of workers are to be instructed specifically to better formulate and adopt production pledges in line with the overall economic plans for the enterprises and industries concerned. Heads of enterprises and ministries are expressly forbidden to conceal reserves and the possibilities of production so as not to interfere with overall economic planning and the proper distribution of materials and equipment.

(4) Managers, engineers, technicians, and agricultural experts must assume greater responsibility for the organization of socialist competition. They must encourage workers to increase their skills and to make efficiency suggestions and technical improvements (inventions). (About 80 percent of the 4 million suggestions made yearly have been put into practice. 4/)

(5) Party organizations must be in the forefront to check on the operation of socialist competition by management (to prevent the unjustified payment of bonuses); they must strengthen the role of trade unions in the organization, expansion, and direction of socialist competition. Komsomol must help the trade unions draw young people into competition.

(6) Top Government and trade union bodies are to improve methods for disseminating the experience gained in socialist competition and to develop a sound theoretical foundation for the further development of socialist competition and a communist attitude toward work.

(7) The editors of newspapers and magazines and managers of motion picture houses and radio and television stations are instructed to publicize all aspects of socialist competition and the movement for instilling a communist attitude toward work.

(8) The committee in charge of the permanent Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy in Moscow is instructed to prepare an exhibit of (a) the achievement of inventors and of outstanding collectives during the current 5-year plan period (1971-75) and (b) the most noteworthy experience in the organization of socialist competition. --Soviet press.

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1/ Pravda (Communist Party Daily) and Trud ("Labor," the Soviet trade union daily), September 5, 1971, pp. 1-2.

2/ For a discussion of the labor policies of the Congress, see "Soviet Labor Policies of the 24th Party Congress," Labor Developments Abroad, Vol. 16, No. 9, September 1971, pp. 6-12.

3/ Pravda, September 5, 1971, p. 1, and September 18, 1971, p. 1.

4/ Pravda, September 18, 1971, p. 1.

**U.S.S.R.** Public Employment Office Experiment.

In January 1971, a pilot project for placing jobseekers was launched in two cities in the U.S.S.R. The experiment gives public employment offices a virtual monopoly over job placement in the cities of Ufa and Kaluga. (Ufa has a population of about 750,000, and is located about 700 miles east of Moscow. Kaluga has a population of about 200,000, and is about 200 miles south of Moscow.) Jobseekers in the two cities must use the public employment service in order to find work; they no longer can apply directly to the hiring offices of enterprises. Elsewhere in the U.S.S.R., procedures for finding work are unchanged: Jobseekers can apply either to the local employment office, if there is one, or directly to the enterprise.

The employment office experiment was introduced because of the increasing seriousness of the manpower shortage in the Soviet Union, according to V. P. Andreyev, Deputy Chairman of the State Committee on Labor Reserves of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Republic (the largest of the 15 republics making up the U.S.S.R.). 1/ In Andreyev's view, the Soviet manpower shortage results primarily from the disproportionately slow rate of population growth relative to planned production growth, from the wasteful use of labor resources, and from loss of worktime in enterprises, especially through absenteeism and the inefficient organization of work. Andreyev noted certain economic and social disadvantages of direct hiring. Apart from the cost to the enterprise, the economy as a whole suffers because some enterprises hire more workers than they need, while others fail to provide working conditions attractive enough to hold the workforce.

Proponents of the experiment feel that by increasing the importance of the public employment office in the hiring process, Soviet authorities may have found a method of alleviating the labor shortage. If successful, the experiment will result (1) in the directing of workers in Ufa and Kaluga to industries, occupations, and enterprises where they are needed most, and (2) in the penalizing of enterprises whose operations are considered wasteful of manpower.

A nationwide system of public employment offices was first created in the U.S.S.R. 3 years ago, and now has offices in 60 cities. In their brief period of operation, the employment offices have brought considerable economic benefits, according to Andreyev. Use of the offices has reduced the time lost by workers between jobs from an average of 28 days to 12 or 15 days, depending on the city. The offices have proved useful in placing workers in jobs related to their skills. In Leningrad, for example, 56 of every 100 workers changing jobs also changed trades before the employment offices were set up. Afterwards, only 24 of every 100 changed trades when changing jobs.

The experiment of Ufa and Kaluga has two distinctive features. In the first place, direct hiring in the two cities, in effect, is banned, and with only a few exceptions, jobseekers must find employment through the public employment office. (Enterprises have the right to turn down applicants referred to them.) Exempt from the rule requiring jobseekers to find work through the employment office are only (1) workers assigned by higher (regional or national) administrative organs to managerial, engineering-technical, research, and production-planning jobs, and (2) young specialists trained in trade, technical, and other schools who are obligated to work for several years in assigned jobs after graduation.

The second and more innovative feature of the experiment lies in the right of the public employment offices in Ufa and Kaluga to refuse an enterprise request for additional workers. A refusal may be issued if the office determines that the enterprise already

has more workers on its payroll than its production plan calls for. Proponents of the employment office experiment anticipate that this control will compel enterprises to utilize their work forces more efficiently. Each month, public employment offices in Ufa and Kaluga receive a report on the number of job vacancies from the enterprises and organizations in their areas; the number is verified by the employment office by comparing the actual number of workers with the number authorized for the enterprise by the planning authorities. Each office also takes into consideration how efficiently the enterprise uses its actual labor force and what it does to curtail labor turnover.

Now for every jobseeker, the public employment office in Ufa or Kaluga makes out a punch card, recording his trade, age, reason for separation from previous job, and the date of separation. These data are used in determining the causes and extent of labor turnover and in reporting the existence of unsatisfactory working conditions at particular enterprises.

Andreyev points out that in Ufa and Kaluga all jobseekers now have an opportunity to discuss their job needs with qualified job counselors. They can choose with greater confidence from among the job vacancies available.

During the period January-March 1971, the Ufa employment office directed approximately 17,000 persons to jobs, and the "overwhelming majority" of them were hired. This number was considerably more than in any previous yearly quarter. However, only one-third of the demand in the city was met for loaders, charwomen, and other "auxiliary personnel." According to Andreyev, this indicates that enterprises must pay more attention to the mechanization of labor-consuming and auxiliary work.

Since the experiment was introduced in Ufa, enterprises in that city have saved money by cutting down heavily in their advertisements of job vacancies in newspapers, over the radio, and on television. Such expenditures by enterprises in Ufa dropped from about 10,000 rubles (US$11,111) in April 1969 to about 2,000 rubles (US$2,222) in April 1971.

The experience gained in Ufa and Kaluga will be useful, Andreyev said, because "In the near future we propose to increase the network of offices, and to connect them all with each other and with the central office by a teletype system of communication." Sociologists, psychologists, and doctors are to be attached to these offices to help place jobseekers without a trade in suitable jobs and to guide them in selecting a trade.

It is anticipated that the employment offices will cooperate with local enterprises to establish trade and technical schools for the training of public school graduates in trades and skills expressly needed by the enterprises of particular cities. The public employment office will be expected to forecast the demand for various types of labor in the city as a whole, and to recruit additional workers from persons outside the labor force, such as housewives and able-bodied old-age pensioners.

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1/ Andreyev's remarks, on which this article is based, appeared as an interview in the trade union daily Trud on July 18, 1971. He gave no indication of how long the experiment was intended to last, nor why Ufa and Kaluga were chosen for the experiment.

# Soviet Labor Policies of the 24th Party Congress*

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which met March 30 to April 9, 1971, supplied the traditional platform from which party leaders reviewed political and economic developments since the preceding Congress in 1966, and announced policies for the next 5 years. Henceforth, Congresses will be held every 5 years, instead of 4, to coincide with the 5-year economic plan period.

Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, first announced the policies in the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.), and Aleksei Kosygin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, elaborated on these policies in a subsequent report on the proposed directives for the next 5-year plan (1971-75). 1/ These policies were "completely and fully" approved by the Congress and formally detailed in the two major documents: (1) The "Resolution of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.," and (2) the "Directives for the 5-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1971-75." In the latter document the Congress stated that "the main task of the 5-year plan is to secure a considerable rise of the material and cultural level of the people on the basis of high growth rates in socialist production, an increase in its efficiency, scientific-technical progress, and an accelerated growth of labor productivity." 2/

Brezhnev emphasized that growth of the people's welfare is the highest aim of the party's economic policy, but must be achieved "without lowering the attention paid to the development of heavy industry, including the defense branches." Brezhnev also said that the party line calls for intensifying the moral and political indoctrination of the workers and "strengthening that moral and political situation in the country in which people breathe easily, work well, and live tranquilly."

The Congress, in approving the directives submitted by the Central Committee about a month and a half after they had been published and discussed by "tens of millions of workers," 3/ called on forthcoming subordinate party conferences and meetings at all levels, as well as upon all workers, to discuss further the directives and to send their suggestions to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. This council was scheduled to submit a final draft of the 5-year plan (1971-75) to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Council (parliament) by September 1, 1971, for enactment into law. However, any change in the percentage goals set in the directives, and summarized herein, is unlikely.

Previous and present 5-year plans. In contrast to the overly ambitious benefits, such as free factory meals and transportation, which the 22d Congress (October 1961) promised "within 10 to 20 years," new party leader Leonid Brezhnev made modest and realistic promises at the 23d (March-April 1966) and the recent 24th Congresses. These promises appear to be based on plans for growth which the economy can achieve. 4/

In his report to the 24th Congress on the state of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev stated that directives of the 23d Congress concerning the main economic goals for 1966-70 had been fulfilled successfully, and that the particular goals for the improvement of the people's welfare had been exceeded. (See figures for per capita real income in the

*By Edmund Nash of the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions.

accompanying table.) He admitted, however, that the 1966-70 production plans for some important categories of capital and consumer goods were not fulfilled, 5/ because the management of some enterprises had failed to introduce new technology and increase labor productivity.

Directives for the 5-year plan, 1971-75, provide for slightly smaller percentage increases in growth of national income and industrial production, but larger percentage increases in labor productivity than did the previous 5-year plan, 1966-70. (See accompanying table.) The planned growth in real income per capita is about the same, but that of average monthly earnings slightly higher. Even though for the first time in a 5-year plan, the growth rate of production of consumer goods is scheduled to be slightly higher than that of capital goods, the latter will still account for the major share of the country's industrial production. In 1970, capital goods constituted 74 percent of all industrial production.

Wages and real income. The directives provide that real income per capita during 1971-75 is to increase about 6 percent annually compared with about 4 percent for the average monthly earnings of all wage and salary earners. The planned annual rate of increase in earnings is lower than the actual 5 percent average increase during the period 1966-70. Average monthly earnings of all wage and salary earners are expected to rise from 122 rubles (US$136) in 1970 to 146-149 rubles (US$162-$166) in 1975. 6/ Real income will continue to increase at a faster rate than earnings, because most retail prices in state stores are to remain stable, and price reductions are promised for some unspecified types of goods that may be produced in abundance and more cheaply.

Soviet leaders anticipate that average earnings will increase during 1971-75 because: (1) The proportion of skilled and professional workers is growing; (2) the monthly minimum wage will be raised from 60 to 70 rubles (US$67 to $78); (3) wage rates in categories near the new minimum level will be adjusted upward; (4) wage rates for work at night and in hardship areas will be increased; and (5) salaries of teachers and doctors will be increased by about 20 percent as of September 1, 1972.

The following supplemental payments also are to be increased: (1) Old-age pensions and pensions to invalids; (2) pensions to families of deceased veterans; (3) paid leave to a working mother caring for a sick child; (4) pay during maternity leave--to 10 percent of average earnings, irrespective of length of service; and (5) allowances to students in colleges and secondary technical schools. In addition, family allowances for workers' families whose per capita income does not exceed 50 rubles (US$56) a month will be introduced by 1974. Income tax exemptions will be increased from the current 60 rubles (US$67) to 70 rubles (US$78) a month; and income tax rates on earnings between 70 to 90 rubles (US$78 to $100) a month will be reduced. Redemption of savings bonds, which in 1957 were frozen for 20 years, 7/ will begin in 1974. Increased grants to pensioners, disabled persons, working mothers, students, and others will come from the Social Consumption Funds which in 1970 increased the average family income by one-third. 8/ The new plan provides for a 40-percent increase in these funds--from 64 billion rubles (US$71 billion) in 1970 to 90 billion rubles (US$100 billion) in 1975. 9/

Consumer goods and services. The Soviet leaders at the Congress promised consumers more and better goods and services, including food, clothing, durable goods, housing, child-care centers, restaurants, repair shops, and public utilities (gas, water, and electricity). Efforts will continue to narrow the gap between the living levels of rural and

Major growth indicators of the eighth (1966-70) and ninth (1971-75) 5-year economic plans, U.S.S.R.

| Indicator | Percent increase | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1966-70 | | 1971-75 |
| | Actual | Planned | Planned |
| National income 1/ | 41 | 38-41 | 37-40 |
| Industrial production, total | 50 | 47-50 | 42-46 |
| Capital goods | (2/) | 3/ 49-52 | 41-45 |
| Consumer goods | (2/) | 3/ 43-46 | 44-48 |
| Real income, per capita | 33 | 30 | 30 |
| Average monthly earnings of wage and salary earners | 26 | 20 | 20-22 |
| Labor productivity, in industry 4/ | 5/ 32 | 33-35 | 36-40 |
| Value of goods sold to consumers by state and cooperative stores | 6/ 50 | (2/) | 7/ 42 |

1/ Defined by Soviet economists as the net value of goods and productive services, including turnover tax. Consumer services are not included.

2/ Not available.

3/ Pravda, April 10, 1966, pp. 2-3.

4/ Includes primarily manufacturing, mining, and electric power generation.

5/ Trud, April 7, 1971, p. 3.

6/ Sovetskie Profsoyuzy (Soviet Trade Unions, a semimonthly), No. 1, January 1971, p. 14. The author says "nearly 50 percent."

7/ Trud, April 7, 1971, p. 6.

Source: Except as indicated in the footnotes, Trud ("Labor," Soviet trade union daily), April 11, 1971, pp. 1-6.

urban people. Brezhnev said that the days are gone when millions of citizens had to be content with the bare necessities of life. He scored the workers who up to the present time "not only in the provinces but also at the center, have got used to shortcomings and to the low quality of a number of consumer goods, and work intolerably slowly. There are some who have curtailed or ceased the production of essential items altogether; under the pretense of replacing obsolete goods with new ones they have stopped the production of low-priced everyday goods indispensable to the population." Brezhnev stated that increased economic capabilities now enable the Government to direct larger capital investments into production and the improvement of consumer goods. He also said that the Government was considering the use of more pensioners, housewives, and handicapped persons to expand consumer services. 10/

Housing for about 60 million people, about 25 percent of the population, is to be improved in 1971-75. According to one Soviet periodical, "Despite the great scope of construction in our country, the housing problem continues to be one of the main ones." 11/

Specific figures for planned increases in the production of consumer goods were announced at the Congress. In his report on the proposed 5-year plan for 1971-75, Kosygin emphasized the production of durable consumer goods. Between 1970 and 1975, the number of refrigerators for each 100 families is

planned to increase from 32 to 64; television sets, from 51 to 72; and washing machines, from 52 to 72. Annual passenger car production will increase from 344,000 to at least 1,200,000. The 1971-75 plan also calls for a 40-percent increase in the sale of clothing, a 40- to 60-percent increase in the sale of meat, fish, eggs, and vegetables, depending on the food item, and an 80-percent increase of other nondurable consumer goods for everyday use. 12/ The goals for food are to be secured by planned increased investments in agriculture.

The planned increases in the production and sales of consumer goods would appear to reflect Brezhnev's statement of policy that "the production of consumer goods must increase more rapidly than the monetary income of the Soviet people." 13/ During 1971-75 almost twice as much as previously will be set aside to expand light industry (manufacture of consumer goods). During 1966-70 the increase in money income was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the manufacture of consumer goods, because some ministries had permitted wage payments to increase faster than labor productivity. 14/

Reflecting the unavailability of consumer durable goods, personal savings in banks more than doubled from 1965 to 1969. The increase in population and in incomes of persons on collective farms probably account for most of the 50-percent increase in the value of goods sold by state and cooperative stores during 1966-70, compared with the 26-percent increase in average earnings.

Production and labor productivity. According to Kosygin's report on the new 5-year plan, total industrial production is to increase 42-46 percent during 1971-75; and labor productivity, 36-40 percent compared with the actual increase of 32 percent in 1966-70. According to one Soviet economist, the increase in production would be the equivalent to adding 11 million workers to the labor force. 15/

A comparison of productivity in the United States and the Soviet Union is difficult because adequate data are lacking. However, in 1967, according to one Soviet economist, "labor productivity in U.S.S.R. industry was 40-50 percent of the U.S. level." 16/ In the Soviet Union, labor productivity is defined as the ratio of total output to the number of workers employed in an economic sector. Comparable U.S. figures for all industry, as defined by Soviet economists, are not available.

A uniform annual rate of increase in Soviet labor productivity may be planned but cannot always be achieved. For example, the 32-percent productivity increase in industry during 1966-70 was made up of the following annual increases, as reported in the Soviet press:

| Year | Increase in labor productivity in industry (in percent) |
|---|---|
| 1966..... | 5 |
| 1967..... | 7 |
| 1968..... | 5 |
| 1969..... | 4.8 |
| 1970..... | 7 |

The planned increase in labor productivity for 1971-75 is expected to account for at least 80 percent of the increase in national income and 87 to 90 percent of the increase in industrial production. Increased production is to be achieved without an appreciable rise in the number of workers. From 1968 to 1970, the annual rate of increase in the number of wage and salary workers declined from 3.4 percent to 2.5 percent. A Soviet economist has reported that 92 percent of the able-bodied labor force are employed in production, that the flow of workers from rural areas is diminishing, and that "we are now at the bottom of the labor resources barrel." 17/ To achieve production

goals, more machines will be introduced, and more efficient use will be made of workers (for whom expertly determined work quotas are recommended) and other production resources.

Also important in increasing labor productivity is the recently introduced system of incentives based on profits obtained by "strengthening and extending the financial autonomy" of enterprises. 18/ Kosygin said that many enterprises still did not respond adequately to the new system of incentives. Many have failed to organize labor and production efficiently. He said that "the amount of time lost in work stoppages in a number of industrial enterprises reaches 15 to 20 percent of the total time worked." 19/ He also said that to increase efficiency it is necessary to improve the training and retraining of managerial personnel and to broaden worker participation in management. 20/

Hours of work. Kosygin reported that the 5-day workweek has been achieved for most workers in the U.S.S.R. but for most workers the total number of hours required cannot be less than 41 a week. He promised no change in the 41-hour workweek during the next 5 years. Many workers must work a 6-day workweek periodically if their workday is less than 8 hours and 12 minutes. Also, the 5-day workweek rule is violated frequently. Brezhnev said: "It is no secret . . . that overtime work has become a regular practice at a number of enterprises, and that people for no good reason are deprived of their days off." He advised that "trade unions can do a lot to eliminate such abnormal practices." 21/ Actually, under Soviet law overtime work may be imposed upon workers only with the consent of the trade union local.

In spite of the Soviet 41-hour workweek, a Soviet Government delegate announced at the June 1956 International Labor Conference in Geneva that the Soviet Union was the second country to ratify the 1935 International Labor Organization Convention which approves in principle the 40-hour workweek.

Workers' health and safety. The directives call for further improvement of health services, including the building of modern hospitals, polyclinics, and dispensaries; the training of more doctors; the raising of the level of training of medical personnel; improvement of medical equipment; the further development of sanatoria and rest homes; and improvement of sanitary conditions in cities and workers' settlements. Brezhnev announced that the new 5-year plan provides for an increase in expenditures for food in hospitals and municipal vocational-technical schools.

As for workers' safety, Kosygin said "It is necessary to ensure further improvement in working conditions and workers' safety protection," and stressed the necessity "to create an adequate production capacity to produce modern technical equipment for the protection of the safety of workers." 23/ Speaking at the Congress, a trade union official reported that the number of industrial accidents had declined by 50 percent between 1965 and 1970, but that a shortage of safety and ventilation equipment still existed. He pledged that trade unions would insist that management introduce the latest advances in safety techniques and would check on the observance of safety rules and technical standards. 24/

Workers' training and education. Brezhnev stated that higher levels of education and culture of workers are important prerequisites for a rapid increase in production and labor productivity, and that such levels could be reached more quickly by making technical and professional training available to more workers. He announced that, in line with the Party's traditional policy of

raising the educational and cultural level of the people, during 1971-75 the size of scholarships and the number of their recipients at universities and in secondary technical schools would be increased. Universal secondary school education (grades 9 and 10) is to be made available to every young person who completes elementary school (grades 1-8). Normally, the average Soviet pupil completes elementary schooling at 15, and either enters a secondary or a vocational school, or becomes a factory apprentice.

Brezhnev reported that in 1971, for every 1,000 workers, over 550 had completed secondary or higher education, compared with 386 in 1959. The proportion is expected to increase during 1971-75. In recent years, the increase in scientific workers, engineers, and technicians has exceeded that for all other industrial groups. 25/ In the past 5 years, scientific workers alone increased by 40 percent.

Trade union policy. Soviet trade unions always follow the party line. 26/ Brezhnev said that the party's policy is to broaden the role of unions and to raise the quality of their work. Trade unions at present have over 93 million members, including many agricultural wage or salary earners. Membership is not compulsory, but benefits are so great that only in unusual circumstances do workers fail to become members.

In its resolution the Congress reiterated the traditional party policy that trade unions must successfully fulfill their role as "schools of government, schools of management, and schools of communism." The resolution said: "The trade unions are called upon to intensify work in further developing the country's economy, in attracting workers to the administration of production and public affairs, in organizing Socialist competition, and in fostering a communist attitude toward work." 27/ (Socialist competition is the term for the Soviet practice of competition among individual workers or groups of workers in the production of goods or the performance of services.) The resolution also emphasized that one basic task of trade unions is to work to improve living and working conditions of workers. A resolution of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions "wholly and completely" approved the decisions of the Congress concerning trade union tasks. 28/

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1/ Jan. 1, 1971, to Dec. 31, 1975.

2/ Trud ("Labor," the Soviet Trade Union Daily), April 11, 1971, p. 1.

3/ Trud, April 8, 1971, p. 3.

4/ For a discussion of the labor policies approved by the 20th Congress (February 1956) and succeeding congresses up to the 23d (March-April 1966), see Labor Developments in the U.S.S.R. (BLS Report 311, 1966), pp. 21-25.

5/ Trud, March 31, 1971, p. 4. For discussion of consumer goods shortages and comparison of the purchasing power of the Soviet and the American worker, see Edmund Nash, "Purchasing Power of Workers in the Soviet Union," Monthly Labor Review, May 1971, pp. 39-45.

6/ The official tourist rate of exchange, as fixed by the Soviet Government, is 1 ruble equals US$1.11.

7/ Trud, April 7, 1971, p. 6.

8/ Komsomolskaya Pravda, April 16, 1971, p. 2.

9/ Trud, April 7, 1971, p. 6.

10/ Trud, March 31, 1971, p. 5.

11/ Sovetskie Profsoyuzy (Soviet Trade Unions, a semimonthly), No. 1, January 1971, p. 15.

12/ Trud, April 7, 1971, pp. 4-6.

13/ Trud, March 31, 1971, p. 5.

14/ Sovetskie Profsoyuzy, No. 1, January 1971, pp. 14-15.

15/ Moscow News, March 27, 1971, p. 2.

16/ N. Dokunin, "Increasing Labor Productivity--the Main Condition for the Establishment of Communism," Sotsialisticheskii Trud (Socialist Labor,

a monthly) November 1969, p. 7.

17/ M. Sonin, "Are the Labor Reserves Exhausted?" Pravda, March 23, 1971, p. 3.

18/ Part of the greater profits to be earned through more efficient operation of enterprises is to be passed on to workers. For description of the new system, see "Labor Aspects of the Economic Reform in the Soviet Union," Monthly Labor Review, June 1966, pp. 597-601; and "Western Influences on the U.S.S.R.'s New Incentives System," Monthly Labor Review, April 1967, p. 37.

19/ Trud, April 7, 1971, p. 3.

20/ Ibid, p. 5.

21/ Trud, March 31, 1971, p. 7.

22/ Ibid, p. 5.

23/ Trud, April 7, 1971, p. 3.

24/ Trud, April 8, 1971, p. 3.

25/ For details, see "Soviet Labor Statistics," Labor in the U.S.S.R., July 1969, pp. 1-6. (BLS Report 358.)

26/ For discussion of Soviet trade unions, see "The Fourteenth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions," Labor in the U.S.S.R., July 1969, pp. 16-22. (BLS Report 358.)

27/ Trud, April 10, 1971, p. 4.

28/ Trud, April 28, 1971, p. 2.

# Purchasing Power of Workers in the Soviet Union

Average hourly earnings have increased steadily since World War II and prices have remained relatively stable

EDMUND NASH

A NEW STUDY of the limited data available in the West shows that the purchasing power of Soviet workers has increased steadily since World War II, but that continuing shortages of consumer goods and services restrict the workers' ability to use their increased buying power.

The study is based on an analysis of official prices set by the Soviet Government for seven essential foods—bread, potatoes, beef, butter, eggs, milk, and sugar—and on average earnings data published in the Soviet press. The worktime required to purchase a specific commodity was calculated by dividing the price of the commodity by the average hourly earnings of all the workers (for details, see footnote 2, table 1).

This article compares the worktime required to purchase the seven basic foods during specific years—1928, 1953, 1962, and 1970. For 1970, a comparison also is made between approximate worktime required to buy basic consumer goods in Moscow and New York City.

The Soviet level of living reached its prewar high point in 1928 (used here as the base year), before the introduction of the Five-Year Plans with their emphasis on the expansion of heavy industry, and when private enterprise was permitted to a minor extent (under the New Economic Policy) and the peasants had not yet been forced into collective farms.[1] Estimates show that in 1928 approximately 26 hours of worktime were required to buy a weekly supply of the seven essential foods for a family of four persons. (See table 1.) The required worktime increased during the 1930's, and the devastation of World War II further decreased purchasing power for Soviet workers.

The first large increase in purchasing power came in the period 1947–54, when the Government annually decreed price cuts on essential consumer goods. By 1953, approximately 38 hours of work were required to buy a weekly supply of the seven foods for a family of four.

Since 1954, Soviet wage-price policy has been directed toward keeping prices relatively stable and providing for a steady annual increase in average earnings.[2] In 1962, the worktime required to buy the same essential foods had decreased to about 30 hours. It is estimated that in 1964 the purchasing power of Soviet workers equaled the previous high level set in 1928; and by mid-1970, the average Soviet worker would have had to work only 20 hours to buy the same amounts of the seven foods for his family, or only 76 percent as long as he did in 1928.

## Soviet wage-price policy

The present Soviet wage-price policy is to keep prices of basic consumer goods stable and to encourage a steady average annual increase in wages. Prices of basic consumer goods were fixed by decree in December 1947 and underwent annual cuts until 1954. Thereafter, price cuts and increases occurred only occasionally and mostly for luxury or semiluxury goods. (As an indication of the relative stability of basic foods prices, compare the 1962 and 1970 prices in table 1.) Average earnings of wage and salary workers gradually increased from about 80 rubles (US$89) a month in 1959 to 120 rubles (US$132) by mid-1970, or about 50 percent.

The average annual increase in wages for the years 1965–70 was reported as about 5 percent, compared with an average annual increase of only 2.5 percent during the preceding years 1959–64.[3] The growing proportion of skilled and professional workers in the labor force, the increase in the salaries of teachers and medical personnel, and the 1968 increase in the monthly minimum wage from 40 to 60 rubles (US$44 to $67) have

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**Table 1. Approximate worktime required to buy a weekly supply of selected foods for a 4-person family at state-fixed prices in Moscow, selected dates [1]**

| Food item | Price (in rubles) | | | | Quantity consumed per week by a family of 4 [5] | Approximate worktime [2] required for a week's consumption | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1928 [3] | 1953 [4] | 1962 [4] | 1970 [4] | | In hours | | | | 1953 as percent of 1928 | 1962 as percent of 1928 | 1970 as percent of 1928 |
| | | | | | | 1928 | 1953 | 1962 | 1970 | | | |
| Rye bread, 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) | 0.080 | 1.35 | 0.13 | 0.14 | 9.84 kilograms | 2.71 | 4.52 | 2.84 | 1.97 | 167 | 105 | 73 |
| Potatoes, 1 kilogram | .085 | .75 | .10 | .10 | 12.16 kilograms | 3.56 | 3.10 | 2.70 | 1.74 | 87 | 76 | 49 |
| Beef, 1 kilogram | .870 | 12.60 | 1.60 | 1.60 | 3.68 kilograms | 11.04 | 15.77 | 13.08 | 8.41 | 143 | 118 | 76 |
| Butter, 1 kilogram | 2.430 | 26.75 | 3.60 | 3.60 | .44 kilograms | 3.69 | 4.00 | 3.52 | 2.26 | 108 | 95 | 61 |
| Sugar, 1 kilogram | .620 | 9.09 | .89 | 1.04 | 1.80 kilograms | 3.85 | 5.57 | 3.56 | 2.67 | 145 | 92 | 69 |
| Milk, 1 liter (1.06 quarts) | .063 | 2.20 | .29 | [6] .32 | 4.96 liters | 1.08 | 3.71 | 3.20 | 2.27 | 344 | 296 | 210 |
| Eggs, per 10 | .200 | 6.88 | .80 | .90 | 6.40 eggs | .44 | 1.50 | 1.14 | .82 | 341 | 259 | 186 |
| All 7 foods | | | | | | 26.37 | 38.17 | 30.04 | 20.14 | 145 | 114 | 76 |

[1] April 1, 1928; April 1, 1953; June 15, 1962; July 1, 1970.

[2] Work time is computed by multiplying quantity consumed by price and dividing the product by average hourly earnings. In 1928, official national average earnings were 703 rubles a year (figure given in **Trud v SSSR** [Labor in U.S.S.R.], Moscow, 1936, p. 17), or 0.29 rubles an hour. In 1953, the estimated average earnings were about 600 rubles a month, or 2.94 rubles an hour, according to an analysis of scattered data appearing in the Soviet press. In June 1962, estimated average earnings of manufacturing workers, interms of the revaluated ruble, were about 80 rubles a month, or 0.45 rubles an hour; and in July 1970, the estimated average earnings were 120 rubles a month, or about 0.70 rubles an hour.

[3] Official Soviet prices from the People's Commissariat of Labor, as transmitted to the International Labor Office (see **International Labor Review,** October-November 1928, pp. 657-660). These prices were lower than those in private trade, which played a larger role in workers' purchases, and their use may somewhat inflate the workers' real purchasing power at that time. See Naum Jasny, **The Soviet Economy During the Plan Era** (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1951), p. 105.

[4] Based on published reports of U.S. and European visitors to the U.S.S.R. and on information appearing in the Soviet press.

[5] Weekly consumption figures per person in 1928 from **International Labor Review,** ibid., p. 659; the average worker's family in 1928 consisted of 4 persons. See Solomon Schwarz, **Labor in the Soviet Union** (New York, Praeger, 1952), p. 145. The same percent relationship between 1928 and 1966 would be obtained if the quantities for 1 person were used instead of the quantities for a family of 4. In 1959, a sample of 94 families had an average of 3.86 members per family. F. Ya. Aleshina, "Social changes in working-class families over a period of nine years," in G. V. Osipov, ed., **Industry and Labor in the U.S.S.R.** (London, Tavistock Publications, 1966), p. 61.

[6] Milk was usually available only in half-liter cartons, at 0.16 rubles a carton.

contributed to the higher increases in recent years. The increase in the monthly minimum wage accounted for most of the increase of over 7.5 percent in 1968, a postwar record. The increase in average earnings during 1970 was 4.0 percent.[4]

A wide range in earnings exists in the Soviet Union, as is illustrated in the listing of earnings for selected types of salaried and wage earners in 1970 (table 2). The range has narrowed noticeably since 1960,[5] primarily because of two increases in the minimum monthly wage which raised it from 27 rubles (270 old rubles)[6] to 60 rubles (or US$30 to $67). The policy of the Government has been to keep the highest salaries fixed and to increase salaries and wages on the lower levels. Wage earners in Soviet industry are classified by skill into 6, 7, 8, or 10 progressive wage categories, depending on the industry.[7] The range of earnings for a specific occupation usually depends on the industry; as a rule, workers doing similar work are paid more in heavy industry than in light industry.[8]

## Consumer goods prices

No comprehensive list of prices of basic consumer goods has been published in the Soviet Union since the appearance in *Pravda* on December 16, 1947, of the price-fixing decree of the Council of Ministers. However, in recent years, prices of durable consumer goods have appeared in official tables of prizes won in State lotteries. A list of goods and prices has been selected (except for the Fiat automobile) from the lottery prize lists published in *Trud* on July 15 and October 16, 1970. (See table 3.) The articles were described only occasionally by brand name; consequently, a comparison cannot be made with similar U.S. goods. However, calculations have been made showing the approximate worktime required of the average Soviet wage and salary earner to buy these goods, on the basis of average gross monthly earnings in July 1970 of 120 rubles (US$132) or about 0.70 rubles (US$0.78) an hour.

Moscow appears to have the lowest prices for consumer goods. In most other cities and towns, prices reportedly have been 10 to 50 percent higher than in Moscow, in some cases more than twice as high.[9] In hardship areas (such as Siberia and the Far North), workers are at least partially compensated by payment of higher wages and salaries than in Moscow.

## U.S. and U.S.S.R. real earnings

The average Moscow worker has to work much longer than the average New York City worker to buy comparable basic and other consumer goods, as shown in table 4. For potatoes, he has to work twice as long; for white bread, 3 times; for beef, 3½ times; for milk, 4½ times; for eggs, 7½ times; for butter, 8½ times; and for sugar, 16 times. For clothing he has to work 6 to 10 times as long. For the other commodities listed, he has to work from

twice as long (cigarettes) to 8 times as long (toilet soap).

The difference in worktime required to buy consumer goods in Moscow and New York City appears to have decreased for all commodities listed in table 2 (except milk) since August 15, 1959, the date for which a Moscow–New York City comparison was made in this magazine.[10] For foods, Moscow worktime required, as a percent of New York City worktime required, decreased most for sugar (from 2,100 to 1,600 percent) and potatoes (from 350 to 200 percent); the decrease was small for beef (from 400 to 350 percent), butter (from 900 to 850 percent), and eggs (from 800 to 750 percent). For milk, the difference increased from 400 to 450 percent.

The improvement in the Moscow workers' clothing situation was large in all cases. For example, Moscow worktime required, as a percent of New York City worktime required, decreased most for a man's white cotton shirt (from 1,600 to 650 percent), a man's woolen suit (from 1,100 to 600 percent), and women's leather shoes (from 1,100 to 600 percent). As for other commodities, there was a decrease in all cases: toilet soap (from 1,050 to 800 percent), cigarettes (from 400 to 200 percent), and vodka (from 450 to 400 percent).

A 1970 report of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress shows that, in 1968, Soviet per capita consumption of consumer goods and services was about 33 percent of the U.S. level.[11] This also would indicate some improvement in recent years, for a 1963 article in this magazine showed that the real income of the average Soviet citizen was about one-quarter to one-third that of the average American.[12]

Although Soviet consumers spend much more for goods than do Americans, they are provided with a number of free services, such as medical service, education, and pensions. They also have the benefit of low housing rentals, amounting usually to about 5 percent of their monthly earnings; however, their living quarters are usually cramped. In the United States in 1969, the average rental for all renting urban families was about 15 percent of monthly earnings, but the average family lived in four or five rooms, with its own kitchen and bathroom.[13] The Soviet Government claimed that in 1970 the value of the free consumer services and other benefits amounted to 42 rubles (US$47) a month, or 34.4 percent of average monthly earnings.[14]

**Table 2. Monthly earnings of selected groups of salaried and wage earners, 1970**

| Occupation | Monthly earnings (in rubles [1]) |
|---|---|
| Scientist (academician) | 800–1,500 |
| Minister (head of Government ministry or department) | 700 |
| Opera star | [2] 500–2,000 |
| Professor (science) | 600–1,000 |
| Professor (medicine) | 400– 600 |
| Docent (assistant professor) | 300– 500 |
| Manager of enterprise or establishment | [3] 100–1,000 |
| Engineer | 90– 200 |
| Physician, staff | [4] 90– 170 |
| Teacher, high school | [4] 80– 137 |
| Teacher, primary school | [4] 80– 137 |
| Technician | 80– 200 |
| Worker, skilled | 100– 250 |
| Worker, semiskilled | 70– 90 |
| Worker, unskilled | 60– 70 |

[1] The official tourist rate of exchange, as fixed by the Soviet Government, is 1 ruble = US$1.11. Tourists have reported this to be a fair rate of exchange on an overall basis.
[2] The top salary at the Bolshoi Theater has been reported as 500 rubles a month. Outside appearances increase the artist's income.
[3] Depending mostly on the size of the enterprise. For example, in small-scale local industry the salaries of directors of machine-construction and metalworking enterprises range from 100 to 300 rubles a month. See I. L. Kukulevich, **Organizatsiya Zarabotnoi platy na predpriyatiyakh mestnoi promyshlennosti.** [The Organization of Wages in Enterprises of the Local Industry]. (Moscow, 1970), p. 100.
[4] **Pravda** [Communist Party daily], July 14, 1964, p. 4.

The relatively high cost of foods (and nonfoods, shown in table 4) may partially explain the high proportion (50 percent) of women among wage and salary earners.[15] In the United States, the corresponding proportion in 1969 was 41.3.[16]

## Availability of goods and services

Despite an increase over the years, the Soviet worker's purchasing power has been affected by the limited availability of consumer goods and services. According to statements in the Soviet press, particularly from the recent annual economic reports of the Central Statistical Administration of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, the Soviet economy continues to have considerable shortages of various consumer goods—especially durable ones, such as refrigerators, automobiles, furniture, and housebuilding materials. As for everyday minor consumer goods, *Pravda* (in an editorial of September 15, 1970) reported the steady receipt of complaints from its readers about the absence in stores of glassware and chinaware, knives and forks, blankets, bath towels, oilcloth, kitchenware, and other goods in wide demand; it called for a fundamental improvement in the production of consumer goods and for a survey of consumer demand.

Possession of sufficient money to meet the purchase price is no assurance of getting a scarce commodity, such as an automobile or a refrigerator. Usually, a person who has been successful in getting his name on the restricted waiting list

**Table 3. Prices of selected durable consumer goods and worktime required for purchase, 1970**

| Commodity | Price (in rubles) | Approximate worktime required for purchase |
|---|---|---|
| Automobile, "Moskvich-412" | 4,936 | 41 months |
| Automobile, Fiat[1] | 5,500 | 46 months |
| Refrigerator | 250 | 2 months |
| Washing machine[2] | 85 | 3 weeks |
| Vacuum cleaner | 45 | 1 week, 3 days |
| Motor scooter, "Vyatka" | 350 | 3 months |
| Motorcycle, "M-105" | 350 | 3 months |
| Bicycle, man's | 50 | 1 week, 4 days |
| Bicycle, boy's "Shkolnik" | 29.80 | 1 weeks |
| Tape recorder, "Orbita-2" | 210 | 7 weeks |
| Radio set, "Mikron," lowest-priced | 25.95 | 5 workdays |
| Electric razor, "Kharkov" | 22.50 | 4 workdays |

[1] About 30,000 Soviet-made Italian Fiats were produced in 1970; the goal is about 200,000 in 1971. The total number of Soviet-made passenger cars manufactured in 1970 was 344,000.

[2] This would appear to be a simple machine without any automatic features. A "semi-automatic" washing machine (with a spin-dry feature), selling for 140 rubles (about US$155) is described as time-consuming and very inefficient in the **New York Times**, November 29, 1970.

for the purchase of a car has to wait 2 to 4 years before he gets it.

Meat and vegetables continue to be in short supply. Millions of Soviet citizens still cultivate private fruit and vegetable gardens to meet their food needs.[17] In 1968, the per capita annual consumption of red meat (without fats) was reported as 77 pounds in the Soviet Union and 183 pounds in the United States.[18] The Soviets plan a per capita increase in meat consumption of 12 kilograms (12.4 lbs.) between 1971 and 1975.[19]

Consumer services in Soviet stores, repair shops, laundries, restaurants, and for repairs in homes continue to be inadequate. In late 1970, the Central Committee of the trade union workers in consumer goods and services industries noted that in order to tailor an outer garment it usually took 3 to 4 months, instead of the prescribed 20–25 days. The repair of footwear frequently took twice as long as prescribed.[20] Shortages in materials, equipment, and servicing personnel reportedly account for this.[21] According to *Trud*, only about 4 to 10 percent of the needed servicing personnel are being trained. There appears to be a lack of enthusiasm among Soviet youth for vocations in consumer services.[22]

Soviet housing has been notorious for its scarcity, poor quality of construction, and problems of maintenance, primarily caused by shortages of skilled workers and building materials. Although housing conditions have improved considerably for millions of families in recent years,[23] the general housing situation remains tight. An example of the kind of progress made is given by the Moscow daily *Vechernaya Pravda*, January 15, 1966, which reported that an old building at 17 Bakuninskaya Street, where "five to six families had lived in one apartment" and shared one kitchen, had just been reconstructed to provide individual apartments with separate kitchens.

The average per capita floor space for city dwellers at the end of 1966 was 10 square meters (about 108 square feet);[24] the 1971 economic plan aims to raise this average to 11.2 square meters (about 121 square feet).[25] At the present time, only families with less than 5 square meters (about 54 square feet) of floor space per capita and newlyweds are permitted to put their names on lists for new housing, but there is a long wait—at least 3 years—before new housing is obtained.

The existence of large amounts of personal savings in banks indicates the limited availability for many Soviet citizens of durable goods, as well as their refusal to buy undesirable goods, which are reported to be piling up in storehouses. During the period 1965–69, the volume of savings in banks more than doubled. The savings in 80 million bank accounts on December 31, 1970, amounted to more than 46 billion rubles (US$51 billion), which included a 21-percent increase of 8 billion rubles (US$8.9 billion) during 1970. The average savings account in 1970 was 575 rubles (US$639), or about 5 months' earnings for the average worker.[26]

The Soviet Government apparently does not intend to increase income taxes, which are proportionately higher for low earners than high earners. The first 60 rubles (US$67) of monthly earnings are exempt from tax. The basic income tax rate on earnings from 61 rubles (US$68) through 100 rubles (US$111) ranges from 20 to 29 percent. Earnings over 100 rubles are taxed at the rate of only 13 percent. In addition to the basic tax there is a tax on the total earnings of bachelors and childless couples, which ranges from 0.41 percent of total earnings of 61 rubles (US$68) a month to 6.0 percent of earnings over 80 rubles (US$89) a month.[27]

## Policies for improving living conditions

The Soviet Government has been striving to improve the material well-being of its citizens by

implementing to some degree such oft-repeated slogans as "All in the name of man, all for the well-being of man." [28] On the occasion of the 53d anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, one of the Communist Party leaders, M. A. Suslov, said, "It is no exaggeration to say that never in history was as much done to improve the life of the population as was done by us during the years of Soviet power." [29] Suslov pointed out that within the 5-year plan period, 1966–70, the volume and variety of consumer goods increased at an especially fast rate, and claimed that now every second Soviet family has a television set and a washing machine, and every third family a refrigerator.[30] On December 12, 1970, *Pravda* called upon all Communist Party members to explain to the public the provisions of the 1971 economic plan, which aims to increase, among other things, "the production of consumer goods in wide demand, food products . . . housing, hospitals, schools, and cultural centers."

Among the most significant decrees issued by the Soviet regime in recent years to improve the consumer goods and services situation are the following. In 1967, a decree provided for improvement in meat and dairy goods procurement and processing,[31] and another was issued "On Measures for the Further Expansion of Everyday Services

**Table 4. Approximate worktime required to buy selected commodities at state-fixed prices [1] in Moscow and at retail stores in New York City, July 1, 1970**

| Commodity | Moscow price (in rubles) [3] | New York City price (in dollars) [3] | Approximate worktime [4] | | | Moscow worktime as a percent of New York City worktime |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Unit | Moscow | New York City | |
| **FOODS** | | | | | | |
| White bread: | | | | | | |
| 1 pound | 0.20 | $.289 | Pound | 17 minutes | 5.4 minutes | 300 |
| 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) | .44 | .636 | Kilogram | 38 minutes | 11.8 minutes | |
| Potatoes: | | | | | | |
| 1 pound | .45 | .114 | Pound | 3.9 minutes | 2.1 minutes | 200 |
| 1 kilogram | .10 | .251 | Kilogram | 8.6 minutes | 4.7 minutes | |
| Beef, rib roast: | | | | | | |
| 1 pound | .73 | 1.008 | Pound | 62.6 minutes | 18.7 minutes | 350 |
| 1 kilogram | 1.60 | 2.218 | Kilogram | 137.1 minutes | 41.2 minutes | |
| Butter, salted: | | | | | | |
| 1 pound | 1.63 | [5] .884 | Pound | 140 minutes | 16.4 minutes | 850 |
| 1 kilogram | 3.60 | 1.945 | Kilogram | 309 minutes | 36.1 minutes | |
| Sugar: | | | | | | |
| 1 pound | .47 | .136 | Pound | 40.3 minutes | 2.5 minutes | 1,600 |
| ½ kilogram (1.1 pounds) | .52 | .150 | ½ kilogram | 44.6 minutes | 2.8 minutes | |
| Milk, fresh (grocery): | | | | | | |
| 1 quart | .28 | [6] .301 | Quart | 24 minutes | 5.6 minutes | 450 |
| ½ liter (.53 quart) | .16 | .160 | ½ liter | 13.7 minutes | 3.0 minutes | |
| Eggs, 2d grade: | | | | | | |
| Per dozen | 1.08 | [7] .657 | Dozen | 92.6 minutes | 12.2 minutes | 750 |
| Per 10 | .90 | .548 | Per 10 | 77.1 minutes | 10.2 minutes | |
| **CLOTHING** | | | | | | |
| Men's: | | | | | | |
| Shirt, cotton [8] | 8.00 | 5.50 | Each | 11.4 hours | 1.7 hours | 650 |
| Suit, wool, single-breasted, middle of price range | 110.00 | 84.86 | Each | 157 hours | 26.3 hours | 600 |
| Shoes, leather oxfords, pair | 24.50 | 19.29 | Pair | 35 hours | 6.0 hours | 600 |
| Women's: | | | | | | |
| Dress, street, man-made fibers | 29.40 | 17.99 | Each | 42 hours | 5.6 hours | 750 |
| Shoes, leather oxfords, middle of price range | 23.00 | 17.00 | Pair | 33 hours | 5.3 hours | 600 |
| Stockings, nylon | 2.00 | .94 | Pair | 2.9 hours | 17.5 minutes | 1,000 |
| **OTHER COMMODITIES** | | | | | | |
| Soap, toilet, 100-gram cake (3½ ounces) | [9] .19 | .11 | Each | 16.3 minutes | 2.0 minutes | 800 |
| Cigarettes, nonfilter, regular size, package of 20 | [10] .176 | .46 | Package | 15.1 minutes | 8.5 minutes | 200 |
| Vodka: | | | | | | |
| Fifth | 4.64 | [11] 5.16 | Fifth | 6.6 hours | 1 hour, 36 minutes | 400 |
| ½ liter (.662 fifth) | 3.05 | 3.42 | ½ liter | 4.4 hours | 1 hour, 4 minutes | |

[1] Prices observed on the open market, where collective farmers sell their produce, were much higher in comparison with state store prices.

[2] Moscow prices in State stores, based on information appearing in the Soviet press and in published reports of U.S. and European visitors to the U.S.S.R.

[3] New York City prices in retail stores were collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; the prices for kilogram, liter, and 10 eggs were calculated from New York City prices for pound, quart, and dozen, respectively.

[4] Worktime figures for Moscow were computed on the basis of estimated average gross earnings of 0.70 rubles an hour of all wage and salary earners in the Soviet Union whose average monthly earnings were reported as 120 rubles (**Pravda**, July 22, 1970). New York City worktime figures were computed from retail prices and average hourly earnings of $3.23 of all workers in U.S. private industry in mid-July 1970 (BLS sources).

[5] First quality (92–93 score).

[6] Adjusted price from $0.602 for ½ gallon.

[7] Large eggs, grade A (these are the only eggs for which retail prices are computed by BLS).

[8] Low-priced white shirt.

[9] Brand name: "Mir."

[10] Brand name: "Belomorkanal." Adjusted price from package of 25 for 0.22 ruble.

[11] Spirit blended whisky.

(especially laundries and repair shops) to the Population." In 1968, a decree directed establishments in heavy industry to expand their production of consumer goods as well as materials and equipment for consumer goods industries. In January 1970, the Government announced that it had provided for a considerable expansion of consumer services, mostly repairs and deliveries from stores, during the next 5-year plan period (1971–75). And, on July 21, 1970, *Pravda* announced the decree "Concerning Measures to Increase the Production and Improve the Storage of Potatoes, Vegetables, and Fruits, and to Assure these Products for the Population."

The 1966–70 5-year plan provided for a doubling of fruit production, in order to reduce the prevailing large imports of fruits and fruit products. During the same period, over 1,500 new factories and plants were reported built for the food processing industry. In 1970, the volume of production in the food industry was expected to increase by nearly 5 percent.[32] Despite this, in October 1970, the Soviet minister of the food industry pointed out the serious need for a greater volume and a greater variety of processed foods.[33] The 1971 State budget provides for a 12.4-percent increase over 1970 in investments in agricultural development.[34]

Perhaps the most dramatic measure indicative of the Government's intent to speed up improvement of the consumer goods situation was the major change in its production policy in 1968, when, according to plan, the annual rate of growth in output of consumer goods (8.3 percent) exceeded, for the first time since the beginning of the 5-year plans in 1928, that of capital goods (8.0 percent). This new policy continued in force during 1969, when the production increases were 7.2 percent for consumer goods and 6.9 percent for capital goods; the increase in production in 1970 was 8.5 percent for consumer goods and 8.2 percent for capital goods.

Soviet shoppers still suffer "enormous losses of time in queues."[35] In 1969, *Pravda* reported that every shopper spent about 300 to 400 hours a year in the stores.[36] To reduce the time spent in queues (which are caused primarily by a shortage of store personnel), the introduction of self-service stores with prepackaged goods is being promoted. During 1968 and 1969, over 4,000 new self-service stores were opened in cities.[37] However, in mid-1970 only 7 percent of the country's nonfood stores and only 1 in 10 of the food stores were self-service stores.[38] The increase in the number of self-service stores has been hindered by the limited availability of suitable quarters and by the lack of packaged goods. There has been a tendency in recent years to establish new department stores away from centers of cities.

Some stores attached to factories have reduced waiting time for workers by accepting orders in advance and having the ordered goods ready for pickup at quitting time.[39] To save time for workers, many repair shops, laundries, tailor shops, barber shops, and other consumer service shops have been established at the places of work.[40]

The Soviet leaders are aware that faster improvement in the consumer goods and services situation will come only with the broader introduction of modern equipment and production methods; all modern means of communication are being used constantly to convey this idea to the mass of workers. □

*FOOTNOTES*

[1] For a detailed discussion of price-wage relationships in the period 1927–50, see Naum Jasny, "The Soviet Price System," *American Economic Review*, December 1950, pp. 845–863.

[2] For earlier articles on the purchasing power of Soviet workers in the postwar period, see *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1953, pp. 705–708, April 1960, pp. 359–364, and July 1966, pp. 772–773.

[3] *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 11, March 1967, p. 4, and No. 47, November 1970, p. 1.

[4] *Trud* [Labor, a trade union daily], February 4, 1971, p. 1.

[5] Edmund Nash, "Purchasing Power of Workers in th U.S.S.R.," *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1960, p. 362

[6] The Soviet ruble was revalued on January 1, 1961, at the rate of 10 old rubles to 1 new ruble.

[7] See *Labor in the U.S.S.R.* (BLS Report 358, 1969), pp. 11–12.

[8] Ibid., for a discussion on average monthly earnings by economic sector.

[9] *Planovoe Khoziaistvo* [Planned Economy, a monthly], October 1965, pp. 10, 14, and 17.

[10] *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1960, p. 362.

[11] See "Consumer Welfare," *Economic Performance and the Military Burden in the Soviet Union* (U.S. Senate, Joint Economic Committee, Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, 91st Cong., 2d sess., 1970, Committee Print).

[12] Janet G. Chapman, "The Consumer in the Soviet Union and the United States," *Monthly Labor Review*, January 1963, p. 11.

[13] Based on the 1960–61 *Survey of Consumer Expenditures* (BLS Report 237–38, 1964), p. 14, and the BLS release *Three Budgets for an Urban Family of Four Persons—Final Spring 1969 Estimates*, December 1970, table 1.

[14] *Trud*, op. cit.

[15] For more about Soviet women workers, see Edmund Nash, "The status of women in the U.S.S.R.," *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1970, pp. 39–44.

[16] *Consumer Income, December 14, 1970, Current Population Reports*, No. 75 (U.S. Bureau of the Census), p. 133.

[17] *Communist* [a monthly of the Communist Party], November 1965, p. 68, and September 1968, pp. 28–29.

[18] *World Agricultural Production and Trade, Statistical Report* (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1970), p. 15.

[19] *Moscow News*, December 19–26, 1970, p. 2.

[20] *Trud*, December 16, 1970, p. 1.

[21] *Voprosy Ekonomiki* [Problems of Economics, a monthly], September 1970, p. 54.

[22] *Trud*, November 21, 1970, p. 2.

[23] In 1970, 11.2 million persons reportedly had their housing conditions improved to an unspecified degree. *Trud*, February 4, 1971, p. 1.

[24] *Strana Sovetov za 50 Let* [50 Years of the Country of the Soviets] (Moscow, 1967), p. 38.

[25] *Pravda*, December 9, 1970, p. 3.

[26] *Trud*, February 4, 1971, p. 1.

[27] *Moscow News*, February 26, 1966, p. 2; and V. A. Tur, ed., *Spravochnik po nalogam i sboram s naseleniya* [Handbook on Taxes and Duties on the Population] (Moscow, 1968), pp. 16–17 and 72.

[28] *Pravda*, July 20, 1970, p. 1.

[29] Ibid., November 7, 1970, p. 2.

[30] Ibid., p. 3; also December 23, 1970, p. 1.

[31] For discussion, see Jerome A. Levine, "U.S.S.R. Acts to Improve Meat and Dairy Procurement and Processing," *Foreign Agriculture*, October 30, 1967, p. 7.

[32] *Trud*, October 18, 1970, p. 2.

[33] *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 42, October 1970, p. 4.

[34] *Pravda*, December 9, 1970, p. 4.

[35] *Trud*, October 9, 1970, p. 2.

[36] *Pravda*, May 14, 1969, p. 1. For more on this subject, see Bernard Gwertzman, "Soviet Shoppers Spend Years in Line," *The New York Times*, May 13, 1969, p. 17.

[37] *Trud*, April 8, 1970, p. 2.

[38] *Pravda*, August 4, 1970, p. 1.

[39] Ibid., October 1, 1970, p. 3.

[40] *Sotsialisticheskii Trud*, March 1970, p. 113.

## U.S.S.R.

Migration of Labor in the Soviet Union.* A major characteristic of the Soviet labor force has been its extensive geographic mobility, mainly from rural to nearby industrial areas and, to a lesser extent, from the European parts of the Soviet Union to the Urals, Central Asia, Siberia, and the Far East. This mobility, manifested primarily in the population censuses (few data on labor force migration are available), has been stimulated on a long-term basis mostly by the nation's industrial growth under the 5-year economic plans since 1928. On a short-term basis the greatest recent movement was caused by World War II, when millions of workers were forced to migrate.

Between the census years of 1926 and 1959, the country's total population increased from 147 million to 209 million, or 42 percent. During this period, the urban population increased from approximately 30 million to 100 million, or 233 percent. Nearly two-thirds of this urban growth was caused by migration from rural to urban areas. 1/ In the 11 years since this period, between the censuses of January 15, 1959, and January 15, 1970, the total population has increased to 241.7 million, or 16 percent; the urban population has at the same time increased by 36 million (from 100 million to 136 million), or 36 percent, while the rural population has declined by 3.1 million (from 108.8 million to 105.7 million), or 2.8 percent. 2/ In short, the urban population has increased from 18 percent of the total population in 1926 to 56 percent by 1970.

A significant movement from west to east also has taken place. About 20 million people were moved compulsorily between June 1941 and October 1942 from the European part of the U.S.S.R. to the east, largely because of the war. Although this wartime evacuation was allegedly temporary, many of the evacuated persons did not return. For example, a 1947 survey in the Irkutsk Region (in East Siberia) showed that 15 percent of those who had arrived during the war were still there. 3/

In the postwar years, the main sources of manpower for the eastern regions have been the central areas of the European part of the Russian Republic, the largest of the 15 republics of the U.S.S.R.. (See map on p. 32.) The republic of Kazakhstan had the largest population increase, 50 percent between the censuses of 1939 and 1959, primarily as a result of the Government's policy to develop the region's agricultural and mineral resources. By contrast, the average population increase for the entire U.S.S.R. was 9.5 percent during this period. 4/

During the years 1959-69, population migration, mostly of able-bodied workers from rural areas, was uneven in the 15 republics of the Soviet Union. The number of rural residents declined in six of the most industrialized republics: 5/

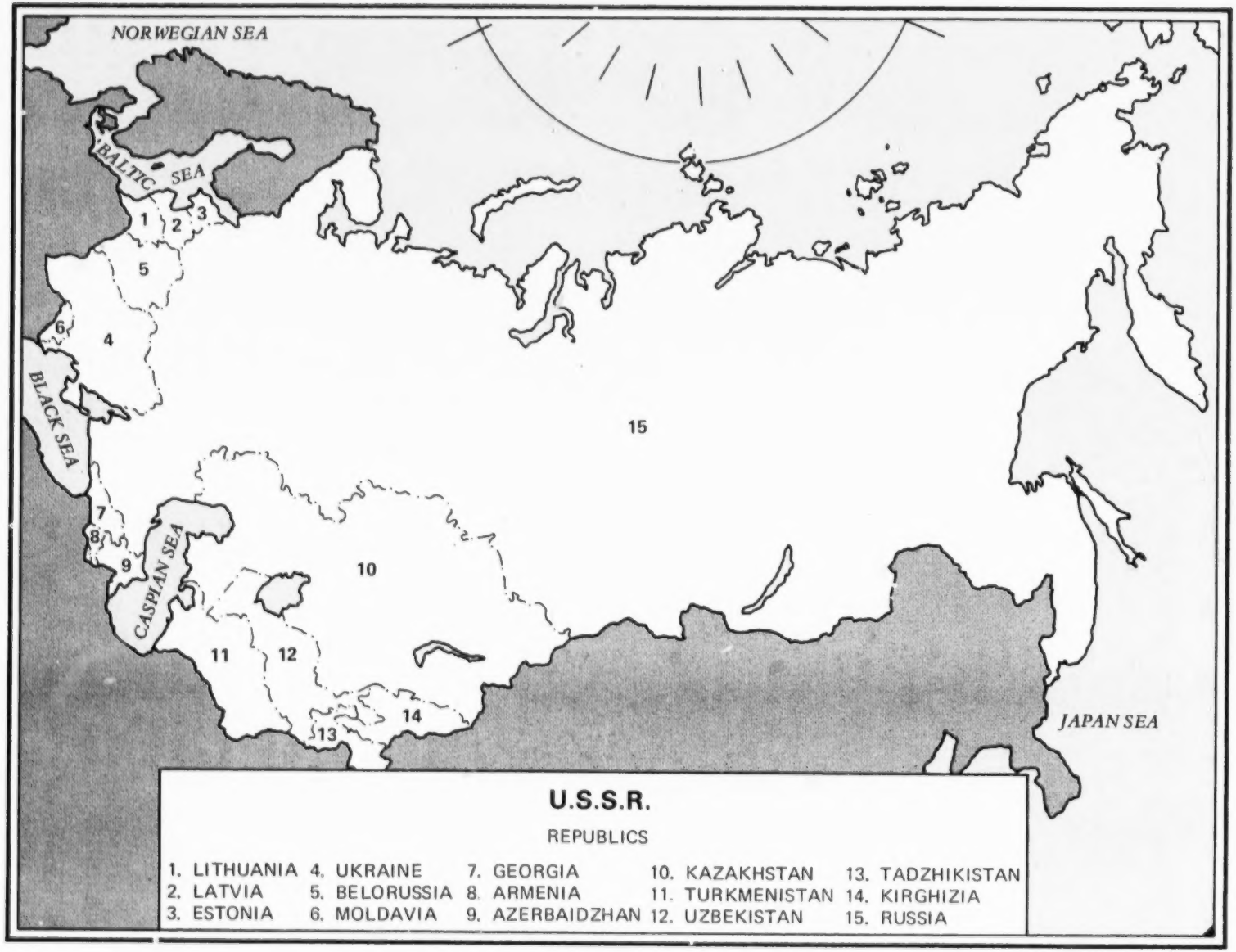
| Republic | Percent |
|---|---|
| Russia (European and Asian) | -12.2 |
| Estonia | -8.9 |
| Belorussia | -8.6 |
| Lithuania | -6.5 |
| Ukraine | -4.6 |
| Latvia | -3.4 |

The other nine republics had increases in the number of rural residents as follows:

| Republic | Percent |
|---|---|
| Uzbekistan | 38.1 |
| Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, and Turkmenistan | 1/ 35.0 |
| Azerbaidzhan | 32.1 |
| Kazakhstan | 24.1 |
| Armenia | 11.8 |
| Moldavia | 8.9 |
| Georgia | 5.0 |

1/ Approximated.

*By Edmund Nash of the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions.


NORWEGIAN SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
JAPAN SEA
1
2
3
4
5
6
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8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
U.S.S.R.
REPUBLICS
1. LITHUANIA
2. LATVIA
3. ESTONIA
4. UKRAINE
5. BELORUSSIA
6. MOLDAVIA
7. GEORGIA
8. ARMENIA
9. AZERBAIDZHAN
10. KAZAKHSTAN
11. TURKMENISTAN
12. UZBEKISTAN
13. TADZHIKISTAN
14. KIRGHIZIA
15. RUSSIA

Since 1966, over 3 percent of the U.S.S.R. population (more than 7 million persons) appear to have been involved in internal migration each year. 6/ In 1967, the rural-urban migration in the 15 republics of the U.S.S.R. accounted for one-half of the 3 million increase in the urban population. The rates of arrivals in, and departures from, urban areas varied widely; however, in all instances the rate per 1,000 population of arrivals exceeded that of departures. The net increase ranged from 0.1 per 1,000 in the Turkmen Republic to 22.9 per 1,000 in the Lithuanian Republic. (See table 1.) 7/

In the period 1950-69, the total number of wage and salary earners in U.S.S.R. industry increased by 103 percent. By republic, the increases ranged from 75 to 379 percent. (See table 2.) The percent growth in the number of industrial wage and salary earners was lowest in the agricultural republics of Turkmenistan (75 percent) and Azerbaidzhan (75 percent). The largest percent increases took place in Moldavia (379 percent) and Lithuania (315 percent).

During this period, the persistent drain of manpower--mainly young able-bodied workers--from the farms in labor-short areas has been alarming Soviet planners, because labor-saving farm machinery is not being introduced fast enough to compensate for the manpower losses. In the Russian Republic, the greatest exodus from villages has been that of high school graduates and agricultural machine operators. 8/ According to a 1967 sample survey, in the manpower-short villages of Siberia, about three-fourths of the rural graduates of secondary schools had declared their desire to leave their villages; since 1963, the number of agricultural machine operators had not increased because of the continuous out-migration of such workers. The survey also showed that a considerable number of all rural residents in Siberia wish to migrate to cities, primarily as a way to improve their living conditions. 9/

As a result of the outflow of young persons, "many collective farms are operating with a labor force averaging over 50 years of age." 10/ To stem this outflow, the Government is attempting to improve living and working conditions by the gradual introduction of mechanization in all branches of farming and by the extention of leisure-time facilities. However, the Government admits that it will take time and considerable investment before the differences in living conditions between city and collective farm life are overcome. 11/

In the period 1959-69, there has been a substantial shift of the center of Soviet population to the south of the country, a shift caused not only by an increased birth rate in the southern areas, but also by the in-migration of population from other areas. The most serious loss of population and labor force has been in Western and Eastern Siberia, even though the natural population increase there has been above the national average; many of the Siberian residents, mostly young persons, have migrated to the warmer climates and better living conditions in Central Asia, the Ukraine, and the Northern Caucasus. 12/ (See map on p. 34.) Most of the migrants to the Far East and to the northern parts of the U.S.S.R. have come from Western and Eastern Siberia; however, these migrants usually return from these remote and severe hardship areas within 3 to 5 years. 13/ Soviet policy, because of the considerable overall out-migration from Siberia, calls for larger manpower inputs into this region where industrial development and expansion, especially in oil and gas, have taken place. 14/

The Soviet Government employs various means--economic, organizational (government recruitment agencies and youth organizations), and administrative (transfer or assignment of workers) --to regulate the territorial distribution of labor recourses. Economic inducements, such as higher pay and longer vacations, are considered the most important incentives in attracting workers

NORWEGIAN SEA
BALTIC SEA
EUROPEAN REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R.
EUROPEAN PART OF RUSSIA
URALS
NORTHERN CAUCASUS
BLACK SEA
TRANS CAUCUSUS
CASPIAN SEA
WESTERN SIBERIA
KAZAKHSTAN
CENTRAL ASIA
EASTERN SIBERIA
FAR EAST
JAPAN SEA
U.S.S.R.

Table 1. Migration to and from urban areas in the U.S.S.R., by republic and region, 1967

| Soviet Socialist Republic and region | Number (in thousands) | | | Rate per 1,000 population | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Arriving in urban areas | Departing from urban areas | Net increase | Arriving in urban areas | Departing from urban areas | Net increase |
| Total..... | 8,582 | 7,081 | 1,501 | 66.3 | 54.7 | 11.6 |
| Russia..... | 1/ 5,235 | 1/ 4,438 | 1/ 797 | 67.6 | 57.3 | 10.3 |
| Northwestern..... | 571 | 495 | 76 | 66.1 | 57.4 | 8.7 |
| Central..... | 811 | 637 | 174 | 44.2 | 34.8 | 9.4 |
| Volga-Viatka..... | 250 | 201 | 40 | 60.0 | 48.2 | 11.8 |
| Central Black Earth | 194 | 148 | 46 | 66.9 | 51.2 | 15.7 |
| Volga..... | 691 | 513 | 178 | 70.5 | 52.3 | 18.2 |
| Northern Caucasus.. | 547 | 443 | 104 | 80.3 | 65.0 | 15.3 |
| Urals..... | 698 | 666 | 32 | 66.8 | 63.7 | 3.1 |
| Western Siberia.... | 588 | 526 | 62 | 80.9 | 72.4 | 8.5 |
| Eastern Siberia.... | 416 | 392 | 24 | 94.0 | 88.5 | 5.5 |
| Far Eastern..... | 430 | 380 | 50 | 103.7 | 91.6 | 12.1 |
| Ukraine..... | 1,627 | 1,283 | 344 | 66.0 | 52.0 | 14.0 |
| Donets-Dnieper..... | 885 | 738 | 147 | 63.5 | 53.0 | 10.5 |
| Southwestern..... | 463 | 339 | 124 | 63.0 | 46.1 | 16.9 |
| Southern..... | 279 | 206 | 73 | 83.5 | 61.5 | 22.0 |
| Belorussia..... | 270 | 190 | 80 | 74.5 | 52.6 | 21.9 |
| Uzbekistan..... | 222 | 158 | 64 | 55.9 | 39.8 | 16.1 |
| Kazakhstan..... | 546 | 462 | 84 | 89.0 | 75.2 | 13.8 |
| Georgia..... | 58 | 46 | 12 | 26.0 | 20.5 | 5.5 |
| Azerbaidzhan..... | 79 | 72 | 7 | 32.3 | 29.4 | 2.9 |
| Lithuania..... | 94 | 62 | 32 | 66.4 | 43.5 | 22.9 |
| Moldavia..... | 71 | 50 | 21 | 70.7 | 50.1 | 20.6 |
| Latvia..... | 87 | 68 | 19 | 60.4 | 47.4 | 13.0 |
| Kirghizia..... | 88 | 74 | 14 | 81.4 | 68.7 | 12.7 |
| Tadzikistan..... | 57 | 55 | 2 | 57.4 | 55.7 | 1.7 |
| Armenia..... | 37 | 21 | 16 | 29.4 | 16.5 | 12.9 |
| Turkmenistan..... | 55 | 55 | 0 | 56.3 | 56.2 | .1 |
| Estonia..... | 56 | 47 | 9 | 67.8 | 56.7 | 11.1 |

1/ The sums of the regional figures for the Russian Republic do not equal the reported totals shown here. These figures presumably exclude migration between rural localities, therefore, they do not indicate the full extent of the migratory flows.

SOURCE: Vestnik statistiki (Statistical Herald), No. 10, October 1968, p. 89, as cited in Murray Feshbach, "Population." Economic Performance and the Military Burden in the Soviet Union, Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, 91st Congress, 2d session, Washington, D.C., 1970, pp. 60-70.

to developing industrial areas, especially those hardship areas such as the Far East known for their cold climate, inadequate housing, and dearth of consumer goods and services and recreational facilities. In 1968 and

Table 2. Wage and salary earners in U.S.S.R. industry, 1/ by republic, 1950 and 1969 2/

[In thousands]

| Soviet Socialist Republic | 1950 (annual average) | 1969 (annual average) | Percent increase 1950-69 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 15,317 | 31,159 | 103 |
| Russia (European and Asian) | 10,827 | 20,028 | 85 |
| Ukraine | 2,509 | 5,921 | 136 |
| Belorussia | 346 | 992 | 187 |
| Uzbekistan | 254 | 568 | 124 |
| Kazakhstan | 365 | 1,022 | 180 |
| Georgia | 175 | 382 | 118 |
| Azerbaidzhan | 173 | 303 | 75 |
| Lithuania | 97 | 403 | 315 |
| Moldavia | 52 | 249 | 379 |
| Latvia | 171 | 395 | 131 |
| Kirghizia | 66 | 195 | 195 |
| Tadzhikistan | 44 | 127 | 189 |
| Armenia | 81 | 262 | 223 |
| Turkmenistan | 51 | 89 | 75 |
| Estonia | 106 | 223 | 110 |

1/ This includes industrial-production personnel in manufacturing, mining, logging, fishing, current repair of plant, and installation, current and capital repair of equipment, and electric power generation. Excluded are workers on construction sites, on farms, and in services to the public.

2/ The annual average figures for 1950 and 1969 have been taken from Narodnoe Khoziaistvo SSSR v 1969g (The National Economy of the U.S.S.R. in 1969), Moscow, 1970, p. 166.

1969, increased special benefits, including one-time money grants, travel expenses, longer annual vacations with pay, greater social security pensions, and wage increments, were decreed for workers in Eastern Siberia, the Far East, and in the northern parts of the U.S.S.R. 15/

Recruitment of labor in each republic is handled by the State Committee on the Utilization of Labor Resources. Promises of "well-paid" jobs and "satisfactory" living and working conditions lead the list of incentives advertised in recruiting. The State Committee promotes the permanent resettlement of workers and the hiring of workers, usually under 3-year contracts, for jobs in the northern parts of the U.S.S.R. and other hardship areas. (Before 1967, recruitment was handled in the Russian Republic by Orgnabor (the Organized Labor Recruiting Service).16/ Orgnabor was established in 1931 and made as many as 5 million job placements annually in prewar years; in postwar years, the number of job placements dropped well below a million annually, and the placements were largely in Siberia, in the north, and in other hardship areas.) The Young Communist League (Komsomol) is the largest Soviet organization engaged in the recruitment of the young for the development of new areas in the East. Komsomol has been very successful in its recruitment campaigns because of the use of psychological and other pressures, including appeals to patriotism. Current statistics on the volume of recruitment

of these organizational agencies for the country as a whole are not available.17/

Administrative influence in the distribution of the nation's labor resources is represented primarily by the compulsory job assignment of graduates of higher educational institutions, secondary technical schools, and vocational schools. Under Soviet law, graduates of college-level professional schools and high school-level technical schools are required to work in assigned areas for the first 3 years after graduation; graduates of trade schools must work where assigned for the first 4 years. Enterprises moving to or setting up branch establishments in developing areas may transfer their workers; such transfers are not compulsory. However, workers refusing transfer usually will have to take lower paid jobs, if available, in their area. A 1970 decree authorized courts to send petty criminals, who have received sentences of 1 to 3 years, to work at assigned jobs in various regions of the country for the duration of their sentence. 18/

1/ T. I. Zaslavskaya, editor, Migratsiya sel'skogo naseleniya (Migration of the Rural Population), September 1970, p. 4.

2/ V. Perevedentsev. "Migratsiya naseleniya i ispol'zovanie trudovykh resursov" (Population Migration and the Utilization of Labor Resources). In Voprosy Ekonomiki (Problems of Economics), Moscow, September 1970, p. 34.

3/ For additional background discussion of Soviet migration until about 1962, see "On Basic Migration Patterns" by V.V. Pokshishevski and others, in Population Geography: A Reader by George J. Demko, Harold M. Rose, and George A. Schnell. New York, 1970, pp. 318-331.

4/ Ibid., p. 326.

5/ Perevedentsev, op. cit., p. 34.

6/ Murray Feshbach, "Manpower in the U.S.S.R.: A Survey of Recent Trends and Prospects," New Directions in the Soviet Economy. A study prepared for the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, 89th Congress, 2d session, Washington, D.C., 1966, p. 703-788.

7/ Based on data appearing in the article "Population" by Murray Feshbach, Economic Performance and the Military Burden in the Soviet Union, Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, 91st Congress, 2d session, Washington, D.C., 1970, pp. 60-70.

8/ Perevedentsev, op. cit., p. 35.

9/ V. Kamyshov, "Migratsiya sel'skogo naseleniya" (Migration of the Rural Population), Voprosy Ekonomiki (Problems of Economics), December 1969, pp. 148-150.

10/ Statement made in March 1965 by S. P. Pavlov, the first secretary of the Central Young Communist League (Komsomol) organization. Cited by Murray Feshbach in his article, "Manpower in the U.S.S.R.," in New Directions in the Soviet Economy.

11/ Pravda, October 23, 1970, p. 2.

12/ E. L. Manevich. U.S.S.R.: Full Employment, Moscow, 1970. pp. 86-87.

13/ Demko, Rose, and Schnell, op. cit., p. 328.

14/ Perevedentsev, op. cit., p. 41.

15/ Ibid., pp. 42-43.

16/ For more on this committee, see Emily Clark Brown's "Continuity and Change in the Soviet Labor Market," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, January 1970, pp. 171-190.

17/ For a recent discussion of Soviet policies for organizing the migration of workers, see Robert J. Osborn, Soviet Social Policies: Welfare, Equality, and Community, Homeward, Ill., The Dorsey Press, 1970, pp. 156-161.

18/ Ogonyok, a Moscow weekly, No. 44, October 1970, pp. 26-27. (Cited in The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Feb. 9, 1971, p. 18.)

# The Status of Women in the U.S.S.R.

EDMUND NASH

IT IS CUSTOMARY for journalists and some economists in the Soviet Union to claim that theirs is the first country in the world to have established complete equality for women.[1] But a study of Soviet economic and political sources has indicated that, generally, women have not yet achieved the full equality with men provided by the Soviet Constitution. Article 122 of that fundamental law adopted in 1936 reads: "Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political, and public activity."

Soviet women appear to have moved a long way toward equality with men since the time the promising in Article 122 was adopted. In the past 15 years alone they have made remarkable progress in this direction, as will appear evident to anyone who may compare the current data presented here with those published in this magazine about 15 years ago.[2]

Women are still far from being equal with men in the field of politics. In the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the country's highest legislative body, only 28 percent of the elected members are women; in the supreme soviets of the 15 republics, they constitute 34 percent. They are nearer equality in the village, city, regional, and territorial soviets, where they account for 45 percent of the members.[3] Women are conspicuously absent from top posts in the Communist Party, and relatively few are in high government positions. At lower levels, including those in research institutions, men usually occupy the key positions. In 1961, only 10 women were members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a mere 3 percent of the entire body.[4] At the beginning of 1967, women constituted 20.9 percent of the Party's membership.[5]

Nor have women achieved equality in jobs at the higher levels in economic and cultural fields. In 1965, they were not to be found in the highest stratum of scholarly achievement—the direction of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.[6] In the field of education, where the proportion of women among professionals in the 1968–69 school year was 71 percent, they accounted for only 26 percent of the 8-year-school directors and 23 percent of the secondary school directors.[7]

Despite the evident inequality of women at the higher job levels, the Soviet doctrine of political, economic, and social equality has proved very useful for certain purposes. It has been effectively used to encourage housewives into paid employment outside the home, and to justify the utilization of women in some heavy and hazardous work—of the type restricted by law or custom to men in the United States. (See section on working conditions.)

## Increasing employment of women

All able-bodied Soviet women without family obligations or other justified excuses are under a legal and moral obligation to work. But even housewives with children have always been under economic pressure to seek jobs outside the home. The government's emphasis on high investments in heavy industry—rather than the consumer goods industry—since the introduction of the 5-year economic plans in 1928, has made it impossible for most married male workers to support their families adequately with their own earnings. (See section on living conditions.)

Large-scale employment of housewives in the Soviet economy has been facilitated in recent years through the widespread introduction of mechanization and automation of production processes. Women now can easily cope physically

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with the new jobs, and the establishment of various conveniences for women workers also has encouraged women to seek paid employment.

The number of Soviet women wage and salary earners has increased from an annual average of 2.8 million (24 percent of all earners) in 1928 to 44.3 million (50 percent of all earners) in 1969.[8] The census of January 15, 1970, reported that there were 53.9 females to every 46.1 males, or 19.1 million more females than males, in a population of 241.7 million.[9] The proportion of females to males was highest (55 to 45) in the republics invaded during World War II (Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Estonia, and Latvia) and lowest (50 to 50 or 51 to 49) in the Central Asian republic.[10] The average life expectancy of Soviet women is 74 years; of men, 66 years. Since women now constitute 50 percent of all wage and salary earners, the Soviets appear to be justified in claiming that "the problem of the mass drawing in of women into social production is solved." [11]

The proportion of women wage and salary earners in the various economic sectors for selected years between 1928 and 1968 is shown in table 1. In 1928, more women than men were employed in education and health services; by 1950, the number of women exceeded that of men also in communications, trade (including restaurants), and credit and insurance establishments; and by 1960, women outnumbered men also in state administrative jobs. In industry at the beginning of 1969, the proportion of women ranged from 36 percent in the production of cement and 41 percent in machine-building and metal-working to 72 percent in textiles and 84 percent in garment making. Although women accounted for only 43 percent of the wage and salary earners in agriculture, they made up a majority of agricultural workers if we include collective farm workers who are not wage or salary earners but share in net farm income. The census of 1959 showed women to be 58 percent of the total number engaged in agriculture.[12] At that time women were about 41 percent of the wage and salary earners in agriculture.

**Table 1. Percent of women wage and salary earners [1] in U.S.S.R., by sector of economy,[2] selected years, 1928–68**

| Sector of the national economy | 1928 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 24 | 39 | 47 | 47 | 50 |
| Industry [3] (industrial-production personnel) | 26 | 38 | 46 | 45 | 48 |
| Construction (construction-installation personnel) | 6 | 23 | 33 | 29 | 28 |
| Agriculture | 24 | 30 | 42 | 41 | 43 |
| State and industrial enterprise farms | 45 | 34 | 49 | 43 | 43 |
| Transport | 7 | 21 | 28 | 24 | 24 |
| Communications | 28 | 48 | 59 | 64 | 67 |
| Trade, procurement, material-technical supply and sales, and public dining | 19 | 44 | 57 | 66 | 74 |
| Health services | 63 | 76 | 84 | 85 | 85 |
| Educational and cultural-enlightenment institutions | 55 | 59 | 69 | 70 | 72 |
| Science | 40 | 42 | 43 | 42 | 46 |
| Credit and insurance | 38 | 41 | 58 | 68 | 76 |
| Administrative organs (state and cooperative institutions) | 19 | 34 | 43 | 51 | 58 |

[1] The minimum employment age is 15 years for apprentices and 16 years for others.
[2] Excludes the self-employed; includes wage and salary earners on collective farms but not collective farmers who share in net farm income.
[3] Includes manufacturing, mining, logging, fishing, current repair of plants and installations, current and capital repair of equipment, and electric power generation.

SOURCE: **Vestnik Statistiki** (Statistical Herald, a monthly published by the Central Statistical Administration of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, Moscow), January 1970, p. 89.

### Lenin on the status of women

It is said that the level of culture is best characterized by the legal status of women. There is a grain of profound truth in this saying. . . .

The working women's movement has for its object the fight for the economic and social, and not merely formal, equality of women. The main task is to draw the women into socially productive labor, extricate them from "domestic slavery," free them of their stultifying and humiliating resignation to the perpetual and exclusive atmosphere of the kitchen and nursery.

— V. I. Lenin, *Women and Society* quoted in *The Woman Question—Selections From the Writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin*— (New York, International Publishers Co., Inc., Little New World Paperbacks, 1969), p. 63.

## Professionals and technicians

For some time now women in the Soviet Union have had more than equal access to professional and technical training. The 1959 census showed that women accounted for 54 percent of all persons with full secondary or higher school specialized education. By the end of 1967, women with such

In 1967, the proportion of women earners was highest in the western parts of the U.S.S.R. where consumer industries and services are better developed than in the other parts. In the Estonian Republic it was 53 women to 47 men; in the Russian and Latvian Republics, 52 to 48; in the Belorussian Republic, 51 to 49. In the underdeveloped central parts of the U.S.S.R., the lowest proportions were in the Tajik Republic (38 to 62), the Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Turkmen Republics (40 to 60 in all), and the Uzbek Republic (41 to 59).[13]

educational attainment represented 58 percent of all professionals and technicians in the country.[14]

At present, women constitute about 52 percent of all college trained specialists, about 70 percent of the medical doctors, and about 70 percent of the teachers.[15] In mid-November of 1968, they made up 64 percent of the economists, 40 percent of the agronomists and veterinarians, 31 percent of the engineers, and 63 percent of all specialists with secondary school training. At the end of 1968, there were 318,700 women scientific workers, 2,500 of them with Doctor of Science degrees.[16] The proportion of women students at the college level in the school year 1967–68 was 46 percent, and in secondary specialized schools, 52 percent.[17]

## Working conditions

Like men, Soviet women workers must engage—as individuals or groups—in "socialist competition," that is, they must strive to surpass their coworkers in overfulfilling prescribed work quotas. Women must be paid the same wage rates as men doing similar work.

Although growing mechanization and automation of production methods have been easing the work for them, Soviet women workers are still found in certain arduous and hazardous occupations. Westerners are often struck by the sight of women in their 60's, even in the winter time, sweeping streets and scrubbing with steaming water the steps of street underpasses.[18] Women have also been seen frequently in road maintenance gangs and on construction jobs. However, the law forbids women workers to carry loads of more than 20 kilograms (44 pounds) or to transport more than 50 kilograms (110 pounds) by a single-wheel wheelbarrow. They also are forbidden to work in specific jobs which are especially arduous or hazardous. A list of these jobs was published in a 1932 decree, and it has been expanded from time to time. For example, in 1957, underground mining and underground construction jobs (but not personal service jobs, such as bringing drinking water and selling snacks) were added to the list; in 1960, jobs on boats of the fishing fleet (except on crab and fish canning boats and on certain boats with refrigeration) were included.[19]

Although many thousands of women in the rural areas have completed courses in the operation of farm machines, including tractors, only a few are now actually operating such machines. The main reasons given for this are: First, the need for women to attend to the traditional household chores—including the care of children, the private vegetable garden, the cow, and poultry; second, the failure of state (and collective) farm administrations to introduce new laboreasing techniques, shorter work shifts, and special work clothing for women.[20] Recently, however, following a resolution of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers on the greater use of women in skilled jobs in agriculture, programs are being set up to train women to operate agricultural machines. It has been reported that a woman tractor operator (Anna Dmitriyevna Leonova) of 30 years' experience, and honored for this work with the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor," had become an ardent promoter of training women as agricultural machine operators.[21]

## Women's attitude toward work

A recent survey of 3,000 women workers in Kostroma, a town on the Volga about 200 miles northeast of Moscow, showed that 80.2 percent of them were completely satisfied with their work, 11 percent were undecided, and 8.8 percent were not happy about it. What the women liked

### The limits of female employment

The dual nature of woman's role has also been recognized in the U.S.S.R. There, however, the limits of potential female employment seem to be set higher than in other countries. The authors of a recently published collective work on demographic aspects of employment . . . suggest that woman's presence at home is needed for not more than 1.5 to 2 years after pregnancy. On this basis they calculate that not more than 7 to 9.5 million women of working age need be left outside the labor force. In other words the activity rate of women age 16 to 54, which rose from 63 percent in 1958 to 79 percent in 1965, could increase further to some 86–90 percent.

Both the feasibility and the desirability of such a development could be questioned, and it may be expected that, largely because of demographic implications, the future policies governing the employment of women in the various countries of the area will be more flexible than has been the case in the past.

— Jerzy Berent, "Some Demographic Aspects of Female Employment in Eastern Europe and the USSR," *International Labor Review*, February 1970, p. 192.

most about their work was being in a fine collective of congenial workers; second, the convenient working shift; third, the opportunity to display initiative; fourth, proximity to their homes; fifth, day-care centers for their preschool children; and sixth, the wages received.

Seventy percent of the women answered "yes" and 22 percent "no" to the question of whether they would continue working if their husbands started earning as much as both were earning now. The timing of work shifts, especially to avoid night work, was important because "the brunt of running a household, bringing up children, and undertaking other domestic responsibilities is still borne by women." [22] Professor Norton T. Dodge has pointed out that "too much equality can become a burden to women. . . . Soviet time-use studies show clearly that the total burden of employment in the labor force and in the home falls much more heavily upon women than upon men." [23]

## Women workers' privileges

In view of the burdensome demands on women workers, the Soviet Government has taken certain measures designed to safeguard their health and welfare. The stated objective is to enable women "to combine happy motherhood with a more active and creative participation in public work and public activity." [24]

Every year on International Women's Day, March 8, selected women receive special awards in recognition of their achievements in the ranks of labor and their contribution to the cause of communism. Between 1918 and 1970 about a million and a half women have been awarded decorations and medals for outstanding work and wartime activities. Of these, 3,925 had been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, and 91, the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. In this year's proclamation on the occasion of Women's Day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, besides praising Soviet women for their contributions to Soviet achievements, called upon them to serve as worthy examples of the communist attitude toward work and self-discipline and to respond eagerly to the Party's call to promote a nationwide struggle for economy in the use of materials, equipment, and labor.[25]

Soviet women are entitled to retire on old age pensions 5 years earlier than men. Women may retire at age 55 after 20 years of credited work, and men at 60 after 25 years of work. Women in specified arduous jobs may retire at 50 after 20 years of employment, and men in such jobs, at 55 after 25 years.[26]

Measures have been taken to reduce nightwork by women. For example, in the textile industry, where women predominate, their nightwork was limited in 1963 to two shifts a month, with a 5-day, 40.6-hour workweek (instead of the standard Soviet workweek of 41 hours).[27]

Pregnant women (beginning with the fifth month) and nursing mothers are exempt from overtime and night shift work and have the right to lower work quotas or an assistant; in case a doctor certifies that they are unable physically to cope with their job, they must be transferred to lighter work at the same pay and with the same annual vacation (for which they will not have to meet the standard requirement of working at least 11 months). They may not be sent, without consent, on field trips. Employers may not refuse employment to, or dismiss, pregnant or nursing women.

Women get paid leave of absence from work 56 days before and 56 days after childbirth. In cases

### Employment of women in Eastern Europe

As in western countries, the extent of female employment in industry varies considerably between branches, women workers predominating in such traditional female domains as textiles, clothing, food processing, and in some other consumer industries. But . . . the role of women is by no means negligible even in heavy industry and in energy.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's demand for female labor was intensified by the arrival at working age of the reduced wartime birth cohorts. Lately, the supply of young people has increased in most countries, but the steep decline in births that set in around 1955 everywhere will reverse the trend in the 1970's. At the same time there has been in most countries a noticeable slowing down in the rate at which labor has been shifting from agriculture to other sectors, as the supply of young and able-bodied rural workers has been drying up. Thus the demand for female labor in the towns is not likely to lessen in the near future.

—Jerzy Berent, "Some Demographic Aspects of Female Employment in Eastern Europe and the USSR." *International Labor Review*, February 1970, pp. 179–180.

of multiple or abnormal births, the postnatal leave is 70 calendar days. Under a decree of July 5, 1968, a woman worker is entitled to additional unpaid leave until her child is 1 year old. Should a worker return to work before her child is 1 year old, she must be given (upon a doctor's certification) paid time off for breastfeeding (usually 30 minutes after no more than 3½ hours of work). All maternity leave is counted as part of the time required to receive an old age pension.[28]

## Living conditions

The living conditions of the average Soviet woman worker are not very satisfactory, and the Party as well as the Government reportedly have taken measures to improve them by freeing women from many household chores, so that they may have more opportunities for satisfying their cultural and spiritual needs.[29] The Kostroma survey, cited earlier, showed that women workers had, on the average, 2 hours of leisure on a workday and 5 hours on their days off, compared with 4 hours and nearly 9 hours, respectively, for men. Most of the women's leisure time was spent in watching TV; 95 percent of the women workers went to see motion pictures at least twice a month. Over 90 percent read fiction, but only 15 percent read the newspapers several times a week.[30]

Soviet surveys in industrial centers have shown that the working mother spends on the average about 4 to 5 hours a day taking care of her children and her household tasks.[31] Their problems have been eased by lengthening the school day for children, by the expansion of the system of preschool day care centers (which now take care of over 9 million children), and by the continuous improvement at the enterprise level of working conditions and consumer services (so that there has been a reduction in the time spent standing in queues at food and other stores and in the preparation of meals at home).[32] Of the families with children of preschool age, 80 percent used day care centers and nursery schools; only 7 percent are waiting for a place in a child care center. In many cities, it is claimed, there is no need for a waiting list.[33]

Housewives with some unavoidable family obligations have been entitled since 1964 to a shorter workday, with pay according to production or time actually worked, in enterprises offering services directly to the public.[34] Many of them have been glad to accept part-time jobs especially if their husbands were among the low earners. In 1969, the average earnings of all wage and salary earners were only 117 rubles ($129) a month, which did not leave the worker very much after he paid for his necessities.[35]

The annual economic report for 1969 published by the Central Statistical Administration of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers stated that even though the annual growth in output of consumer goods had continued, and rose 7.2 percent in 1969, the demand for some basic goods, including meat, vegetables, woolen fabrics, clothing, footwear, building materials, and certain household goods "was not fully satisfied." Moreover, the plan for housing construction was not fulfilled.[36] In Moscow and in other industrial centers it is still common for a family to live in only one room and to share a bathroom and kitchen with other families.[37]

The shortage of housing in cities and the necessity for women to work are factors that limit the number of children per family. A survey of women workers at several enterprises in Moscow showed that in instances where there were two children or more in the family, practically all undesired pregnancies ended in abortions.[38] A survey in Estonia revealed that nearly a third of the respondents attributed decreasing birth rates to women's employment.[39] The Government, however, continues its program of encouraging mothers to have larger families. Every mother receives a one-time monetary grant on the birth of her third and all subsequent living children, and a monthly state allowance for her fourth and all subsequent living children until the age of 5. Mothers who have given birth to 10 children and are raising them are granted the honorary title—and the order—of "Mother-Heroine." Mothers who have given birth to and are raising seven, eight, or nine children are granted the order of "Glory of Motherhood," and mothers who have given birth to and are raising five or six children are granted the "Medal of Motherhood."[40] Women workers who have given birth to five children and have raised them to the eighth year may retire at the age of 50 after 15 years of work.[41] □

## ——FOOTNOTES——

[1] This claim was recently reiterated by an economist in *Moscow News* (an English language magazine), February 7–14, 1970, p. 14.

[2] Edmund Nash, "Women Workers in the Soviet Union," *Monthly Labor Review*, September 1955, p. 1008.

[3] *Vestnik Statistiki* (Statistical Herald, a monthly published by the Central Statistical Administration of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers), Moscow, January 1970, p. 88.

[4] For detailed discussion, see Norton T. Dodge, *Women in the Soviet Economy* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 213–214.

[5] *Kommunist* (a monthly of the Communist Party), Moscow, October 1967, p. 97.

[6] Dodge, op. cit., pp. 236–237.

[7] *Vestnik Statistiki*, January 1970, p. 92.

[8] Ibid., p. 89.

[9] *Pravda*, April 19, 1970.

[10] *Vestnik Statistiki*, January 1969, p. 82.

[11] *Sotsialisticheski Trud* (Socialist Labor, a monthly), Moscow, November 1968, p. 12.

[12] Dodge, op. cit., p. 293.

[13] *Vestnik Statistiki*, January 1969, p. 86.

[14] *Zhenshchiny i Deti v SSSR* (Women and Children in the U.S.S.R., a statistical book published by the Central Statistical Administraiton of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers), Moscow, 1969, p. 97.

[15] *Moscow News*, March 14–21, 1970, p. 3.

[16] *Vestnik Statistiki*, January 1970, pp. 91 and 93.

[17] Ibid., January 1969, pp. 90–93.

[18] *New York Times*, March 9, 1970.

[19] *Sbornik zakonodatelnykh aktov o trude* (Collection of Legislative Acts on Labor), Moscow, 1965, pp. 523, 524–527, and 529.

[20] *Trud* (Labor, a Moscow trade union daily), March 4, 1970.

[21] Ibid., March 22, 1970.

[22] *Moscow News*, February 7–14, 1970, p. 14.

[23] Dodge, op. cit., p. 247.

[24] M. Pankin, "Privileges of Women Wage and Salary Earners," *Sotsialisticheski Trud*, March 1969, p. 135.

[25] *Pravda*, March 7, 1970.

[26] *Sbornik zakonodatelnykh aktov o trude*, p. 709.

[27] Pankin, op. cit., p. 136.

[28] R. G. Aslanyan, "Action to Ensure that Soviet Citizens Enjoy Equal Rights and Opportunities," *International Labor Review*, December 1969, pp. 578–579; Pankin, op. cit., pp. 138–139; and A. Yarkho, "Okhrana truda zenshchin" (Protection of Women at Work), *Sovetskie Profsoyuzy* (Soviet Trade Unions), May 1967, pp. 44–45.

[29] *Pravda*, March 7, 1940.

[30] *Moscow News*, February 21–28, 1970, p. 14.

[31] *Sotsialisticheski Trud*, November 1968, p. 15.

[32] *Pravda*, March 7, 1970.

[33] *Moscow News*, February 7–14, 1970, p. 14.

[34] Pankin, op. cit., p. 138.

[35] *New York Times*, March 26, 1970. For U.S.S.R. worktime requirements for consumer purchases, see *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1966, pp. 772–773.

[36] *Pravda*, January 25, 1970.

[37] *Wall Street Journal*, August 14, 1969.

[38] *Vestnik Statistiki*, August 1968, p. 33. For families with two children, it was 99.8 percent; for families with three children, 100 percent.

[39] *Moscow News*, February 28–March 7, 1970, p. 14.

[40] *Vestnik Statistiki*, January 1970, p. 87.

[41] *Zhenshchiny i deti v SSSR*, p. 23.

## U.S.S.R.

New Disciplinary Measures. Stringent measures have been introduced in what appears to be a nationwide crackdown on violations of labor discipline. The measures taken in Leningrad to counter these violations were discussed in the Communist Party daily, Pravda, on February 8, 1970, by G. Popov, First Secretary of the Leningrad City Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Singled out as serious violations of labor discipline were careless or wasteful work, loafing on the job, and unauthorized absenteeism (usually because of drunkenness). Popov reported that, in Leningrad, persons discharged for violations of labor discipline may be employed again, under specified conditions, only through the branch offices of the recently organized Leningrad Office for the Employment of Labor Reserves. However, regardless of their level of skills, they are directed to lower paid jobs requiring less skill than they possess. They are not eligible for a bonus during the first 3 months, nor for a vacation during the summer months.

Excessive labor turnover is caused by "flitters"--those who have quit jobs at their own request more than twice during the year. Flitters may be employed only in a limited number of enterprises at wages no higher than those they received at their last place of work; they may not receive a promotion during the first year, nor the usual employees' yearend bonus based on the enterprise's profits, nor a pass to a summer resort or sanatorium.

Individual enterprises have adopted special means designed to reduce absenteeism and job quitting. Popov reported that the workers' collective in the Baltic Sergo Ordzhonikidze plant had decided to penalize an unauthorized absence by reducing the offender's yearend bonus by 25 to 50 percent. Also, no bonus will be given to persons who quit their jobs voluntarily. At another plant ("Geologorazvedka"), Popov stated, discipline had been improved by the introduction of plantwide and workshop "discipline days." This plant also has a special personnel section where both a worker desiring to quit his job and a person applying for a job may discuss their objectives.

Popov asserted that management on the factory level could considerably reduce job quitting and violations of labor discipline by improving working conditions and encouraging workers by incentives. "As a matter of principle," he said, "we must strictly hold responsible those managers who care little for people and the improvement of working conditions, and so allow violations of labor legislation."

# The International Labor Organization, Yesterday and Today

This summary indicates in some detail the contents of the book and presents translations of the important passages which reflect the attitudes and policies of the U.S.S.R. toward the ILO. Following the title page is an epigraph, one paragraph long. The Foreword covers 4 pages (pp. 3-6). There are five chapters; chapter I (pp. 7-37) covers the creation of the ILO and its constitution; chapter II (pp. 38-72) reviews the activities of the ILO in the period between the two world wars; chapter III (pp. 73-121) discusses the fundamental activities of the ILO in the post-World War II period; chapter IV (pp. 122-212) discusses the activities and policies of the Soviet Union in regard to the ILO; and chapter V (pp. 213-237) discusses the need for the ILO to adapt to contemporary conditions. There are also a Conclusion (pp. 238-242); a Bibliography (pp. 243-245); a Table of Contents (pp. 246-247); and a note (p. 248) that the book was signed for printing on February 2, 1968).

"The International Labor Organization (ILO) is one of the largest and oldest international organizations. With its help, the imperialists have attempted to coordinate their efforts in the struggle against the labor movement. However, after World War II, with the entry of the socialist countries into this organization, the ILO became an arena of the sharpest class struggle . . . This book by V. G. Shkunayev, who participated personally in many ILO conferences, for the first time describes exhaustively for Soviet readers the activity of the ILO and shows the enormous contribution of the U.S.S.R. to the defense of the interests of workers (p. 2).

This article has been adapted by Edmund Nash from Mezhdunarodnaya Organizatsiya Truda, Vchera i Segodnya by Vladimir G. Shkunayev Moscow, 1968.

"Even though they are called upon to promote the development of international collaboration, international organizations represent at the same time an arena of sharp conflict. In the present epoch, when there is a general crisis in capitalism as well as a competition between two opposite social systems, the largest of the international organizations, while serving as organs of international collaboration, also reflect in their activity the basic conflict of two camps in political, economic, and ideological spheres. The ILO is one of these organizations" (p. 3).

". . . The ILO, having constantly experienced the influence of the class struggle in the world, has well-known ways of influencing to some extent the course of this struggle . . ." (p. 3).

" . . . From 1919 to the middle 50's, the representatives of a very small group of capitalist countries ran the [ILO], considering the organization as their private domain . . ." (p. 3).

"The situation changed completely after 1954, the year when the U.S.S.R. and two of its union republics--the Ukraine and Belorussia-joined the ILO" . . . "[The ILO] changed from an organ of almost one-sided propaganda for capitalist-reform ideology and practice into an arena of fundamental socio-economic, political, and ideological struggle between the representatives of the two opposite social systems . . ." (p. 4).

The author states that for many years, the reactionaries in the ILO endeavored to create intolerable conditions for delegates from the socialist countries, so that they would withdraw from the ILO, and that representatives of the socialist countries were denied appointments to important posts and organs of the ILO. However, he adds, the old ILO "bosses" could not win in this struggle. In 1966 a representative of

Poland became the President of the International Labor Conference, and the representative of the Soviet labor unions was elected to the workers' group of the ILO Governing Body (p. 5).

The author states that the activity of the ILO is often distorted in the capitalist press, especially when it concerns matters supported by the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries (pp. 4-5).

The following data are excerpts from Chapter IV: "The Soviet Union and the International Labor Organization (pp. 122-212).

"On April 26, 1954, the Soviet Union, assuming the obligations specified by the constitution of the International Labor Organization, became a member of the ILO. On May 12 of the same year, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic also became members of the ILO." Thus, the author states, a new stage began in the history of this organization, marking the end of the monopoly control of the ILO by countries of the capitalist system (p. 122).

"The participation of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, in the International Labor Organization meant the creation at the ILO Conferences of a strong group of delegations which constantly support the acceptance of the most progressive proposals concerning questions considered by the ILO . . ." (p. 123).

" . . . They ["reactionary forces in the ILO"] decided to use all possible means from the very beginning to prevent the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the ILO; then they tried to create a situation which would compel the Soviet Union to leave the ILO; and, finally, they wanted by every means possible to prevent the establishment of normal conditions for useful participation by the delegations of Socialist countries in the work of the ILO" (p. 125).

The author discusses relations between the U.S.S.R. and the ILO up to the time of Soviet reentry into the ILO in 1954. He mentions that the Soviet Union had joined the League of Nations (and automatically the ILO) on September 18, 1934, and that it was expelled from the League on December 14, 1939. Following the expulsion, the Soviet Union severed its relations with all League of Nations' organizations, including the ILO (pp. 126-143). (The author does not mention the cause of the expulsion-the Soviet invasion of Finland.)

"The International Labor Organization--whose constitution reflects the task of supporting the establishment of universal and lasting peace--constitutes in itself an arena for actually realizing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states, and of developing international collaboration in economic and social spheres. The specific tasks of the ILO, spelled out in its constitution and providing for the improvement of working and living conditions of workers, do not exclude, but on the contrary, propound and thus make more important the development of international collaboration in this field" (p. 145).

The author states that peaceful coexistence of states does not mean a disavowal of class warfare, and quotes from The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "Peaceful coexistence is the basis of peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on an international scale, and is a specific form of class warfare between them" (p. 145).

"The International Labor Organization is, specifically, one of the organizations through which capitalism is endeavoring to exercise its influence over the labor movement. With the participation of the representatives of the Soviet Union and other countries of the world socialist system, in the work of the ILO, this organization has been transformed from a forum of almost one-sided reformist propaganda into an arena of struggle between communist ideology and capitalist-reformist ideology. This is why the socialist coun-

tries have a profound influence on the activity of the ILO" (pp. 147-148).

" . . . The policy of the representatives of the socialist countries in the ILO is to achieve the preparation of economic and social proposals most advantageous to workers and still feasible under capitalist conditions . . ." (p. 150).

"The activity of the delegations of socialist countries in the ILO in the struggle for the genuine interests of the workers must not be separated from other types of activity of socialist delegations in this organization. It is closely meshed with the work of keeping ILO participants informed about socialist methods of solving social problems and about the achievements of socialist countries in the area of improving the working and living conditions of workers and in the area of raising the material and spiritual levels of living. It is also tied in with the propagandizing of the idea of the peaceful coexistence of states, and of international collaboration in matters coming within the competence of the ILO . . ." (p. 151).

"In summary, participation in the ILO has given the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the possibility:

To use this organization to explain and realize within its limits the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, the preservation and strengthening of peace, and the development of practical international collaboration on questions falling within the competence of the ILO in conformity with the official goals of its constitution (p. 153).

To use the ILO in the struggle to prepare proposals concerning measures (reforms) which are the most advantageous to workers of the member countries of the ILO, these measures or reforms being still feasible under capitalist conditions and directed toward satisfying the class and general democratic interests of workers, toward improving living and working conditions, and toward the protection and broadening of their democratic rights and freedoms (p. 153).

To use the ILO so as to expose simultaneously [1] the inadequacy, instability, and reversibility of the reforms which can be attained with the preservation of power in the hands of capital and the monopolies, and [2] the impossibility of realizing reforms without a persistent and decisive struggle of the workers to satisfy their demands, and without the international solidarity of the workers (p. 153).

To use the ILO in the struggle against the capitalist-reformist methods of solving social problems, and in the struggle against capitalist-reformist ideology (pp. 153-154).

To use the ILO and its rostrum to show [1] socialist methods of solving social problems and [2] the achievements of the socialist countries in the areas of improving the living and working conditions of workers and of raising their material and spiritual levels of living (p. 154).

To use the ILO in the support of the just national aspirations of the economically underdeveloped countries in their striving to secure means for independent economic and social development, especially in the support of the anti-colonial struggle of the leaders of these countries (p. 154).

To use the ILO in the struggle to establish the practice of joint action by the representatives of the various federations in the international trade union movement; such a practice would contribute to the liquidation of the split caused by the reactionary leaders of trade unions in some capitalist countries (p. 154).

To use the ILO to facilitate cooperation by countries in the exchange of experience with technical questions concerning the organization of work, labor productivity, safety technique in production, vocational training, etc.; these things come within the

scope of the various working parties of the ILO (p. 154).

The author discusses the struggle of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to create normal conditions for the equal participation of the representatives of socialist countries in the work of the ILO. He states that by 1959 the socialist countries had succeeded in defeating the "reactionary forces in the ILO" in their attempts (1) to deny equal participation in the ILO to the socialist countries, and (2) to disrupt peaceful coexistence and international collaboration (pp. 155-179).

"[The struggle in the ILO] continues, as many serious questions still remain unresolved. The apparatus of the ILO is still one-sided, being staffed mainly by citizens of several large capitalist states. The principle of just geographic representation has been violated in the staffing of the important (the Governing Body) as well as the auxiliary bodies of the ILO . . ." (p. 179).

The last two sections of Chapter V are entitled "The Struggle of the U.S.S.R. and the ILO to Promote Peace and Improve the Working and Living Conditions of Workers" (pp. 189-203), and "Concerning Unity in Actions of the Representatives of the Trade Unions of the Socialist Countries and of the Trade Unions of the Capitalist Countries in the ILO" (pp. 204-212). The author would like to see one world confederation of trade unions, instead of the several international federations of trade unions now in existence. He advocates joint statements at the ILO by the international federations of trade unions.

The following are excerpts and summary statements from Chapter V: "The ILO and Present Needs," pp. 213-237.

The author discusses the nature and consequences of the increased membership of the ILO (pp. 213-216).

In this section the author calls for the liquidation of "the relics of the past" in the ILO (pp. 216-228).

"The main thing is that the achievements of the ILO and the results of its activity do not correspond to its tasks, nor to the needs of our time brought about by the fundamental changes in the world's situation which have occurred in recent years. . . The results of the ILO activities, even though these activities have been expanded in the postwar period, are far from satisfactory" (pp. 216-217).

"Many questions of importance to workers are still not resolved in ILO conventions and recommendations. This means that the tasks specified in the ILO constitution have not been fulfilled. The questions include the ways to fight unemployment, to reduce the hours of work, and to guarantee wages which assure adequate living conditions" (p. 217).

The author also states that the ILO should do more in setting up international standards concerning the rights of trade unions (p. 217).

"There are serious shortcomings in the present structure and methods of operation of the ILO . . ." (p. 219).

"The attention of many delegations (and not only the ones from socialist countries) has been attracted to the composition, functions, powers, responsibilities, and rules of operation of various ILO bodies. In this area, the ILO constitutes itself as a most archaic example of an international organization, which not only does not reflect the real status of affairs in the international arena, but also does not take into consideration the experience of other international organizations created in the postwar period." The author disapproves of the limitation, in practice, of the number ("not more than 2") of representatives from socialist countries that may be appointed to any one of the working committees at the annual summer conference of the ILO (p. 219).

"Still more justifiable criticism has been provoked by the composition of the staff of the International Labor Office.

This staff has been selected by the director-generals, who without exception, have been citizens of three States --the U.S.A., England, and France. More than half the staff are citizens of five countries (U.S.A., England, France, the German Federal Republic, and Canada), while at the same time citizens of the socialist countries hold less than 3 percent of the positions, and citizens of the 10 largest countries in Asia, less than 5 percent. . . . The attempts to perpetuate [this situation] can only aggravate the anachronistic conditions in the ILO, and place under question the international character of this organization" (p. 220).

"The International Labor Office is not an exception among the bodies of the International Labor Organization . . . Despite the fact that certain changes have been made in recent years in the distribution of seats in the Governments' group in the Governing Body . . . the trade unions' [or workers'] group and the employers' group have held a more reactionary stand on this question . . . In the employers' group, the private capitalist enterprise associations have a monopoly of representation. This abnormal sort of representation also existed in the trade unions' group until 1966 [when some improvement was achieved with the seating of a representative of the U.S.S.R. trade unions.]; it is necessary that the composition of this group reflect justly and proportionately the existing variety of trade union federations in the international trade union movement" (p. 220).

"The most reactionary defenders of discriminatory practices invoke the principle of group autonomy in electing members to the Governing Body. However, no group autonomy can justify the gross violation of the elementary working rules of all international organizations which provide that the auxiliary bodies of these organizations be formed on a truly representative basis . . ." (p. 221).

The author states that the General Conference is the supreme authority of the ILO, but that in practice the Governing Body has been usurping this authority, as a result of years of control of the ILO by the "imperialist countries," which find it easier to carry out their policies in the small Governing Body than in the Conference (pp. 221-222).

"As a result we have a paradoxical situation where the General Conference, which is the main and most representative body, in practice has no decisive influence on the activity of the ILO . . . It merely stamps approval on the proposals submitted to it by the Governing Body. The ILO constitution provides that questions on the agenda of the Conference may be determined by the Conference as well as the Governing Body. Actually the Governing Body monopolizes this right. The Conference passes resolutions but their implementation is dependent on the Governing Body and the Director-General of the International Labor Office, neither of whom is accountable to the General Conference. . . . The Director-General is appointed not by the Conference but by the Governing Body" (p. 222).

The author discusses the development of an anti-imperialist and anticolonialist struggle by socialist and newly independent countries at recent ILO conferences, especially against Portugal and the Republic of South Africa (pp. 224-227).

The author states that socialist and newly independent countries are demanding the ILO [to] be more active in the promotion of disarmament (p. 228).

The author discusses desirable changes in the program and the structure of the ILO, with special attention to the report, of the Director-General to the 1963 conference (pp. 229-237).

"At the present time, the situation of the ILO is such as to make changes unavoidable. Complete inactivity and the preservation of old procedures and methods of work would utterly compro-

mise the ILO in world public opinion, as well as among the workers of western countries and the majority of representatives of the developing countries in Africa, Asia, and South America" (p. 229).

The author states that in 1963 the delegation of the U.S.S.R. Government presented a memorandum at the 47th session of the General Conference concerning the program of activity and structure of the ILO; the memorandum called for the direction of all ILO activity toward three main tasks: The preservation of peace; the definitive liquidation of colonialism and its consequences; and the improvement of working conditions (pp. 231-232).

The following are proposals of the 1963 delegation of the Soviet Union concerning the structure of the ILO (p. 234).

"The main proposals are: To increase the role of the ILO General Conference in the determination of the program and in the administration of the activities of the ILO; to secure strict performance by the Governing Body of its executive functions; to establish a procedure for timely and unconditional implementation of the resolutions of the General Conference; to secure effective realization of the principle of membership in the ILO open to all countries and of equal participation in all ILO bodies by countries in different geographical regions and with different social systems. The delegations of the socialist countries propose also that the rules of order of ILO bodies provide for democratic procedures, especially that the Director-General be elected by the ILO Conference and not by the Governing Body, that the Conference actually have the right to determine its own agenda, that the Governing Body be accountable to the Conference, etc." (p. 234).

The following are excerpts from the Conclusion.

"Beginning in 1954, a new and powerful force began to operate in the ILO--the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Their participation has led to a noticeable strengthening of progressive tendencies in the work of the ILO, to the strengthening of the position of the supporters of peace and social progress, supporters of the preparation of effective measures meeting the needs of the organized working class, the needs of the national-liberation movement. Simultaneously the positions of conservative and reactionary forces in the ILO are weakening . . ." (p. 241).

"A further strengthening of the progressive, anti-imperialist tendency in the ILO resulted from the mass entry into the ILO of countries which had shaken off the shackles of colonial oppression" (pp. 241-242).

"Such a strengthening of the progressive tendency in the ILO creates more favorable conditions in the struggle for peace and the peaceful coexistence and collaboration of states, for the liquidation of colonialism and the independent socio-economic development of young countries, for the improvement of working and living conditions of workers, and for the protection and extension of their democratic rights and freedoms" (p. 242).

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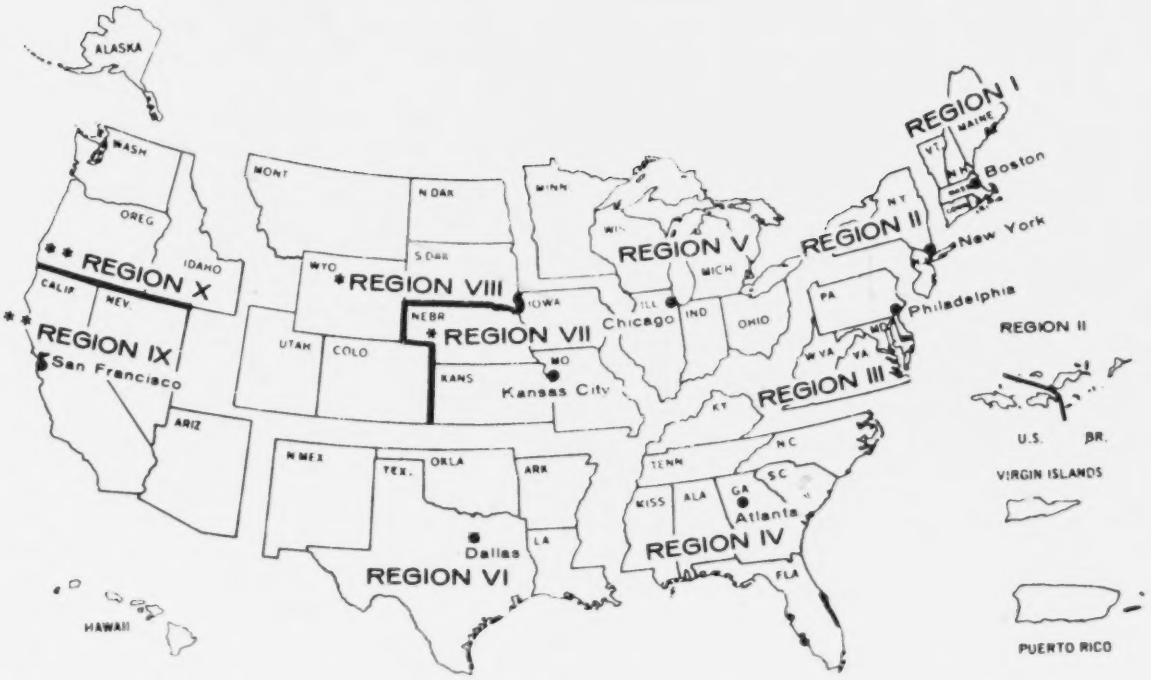


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